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The Week

THOUGH the event passed practically unnoticed in the daily press, the Senate last week took one of its most important actions in months, when it ratified the Pan-American conciliation treaty which was signed on the fifth of last January. That this treaty should have been approved within six weeks of its signature and without debate is remarkable. The New Republic has already dwelt upon the importance of the arbitration and conciliation treaties signed at the Washington Arbitration Conference. Of the two agreements, probably the more important is the one which the Senate has just ratified. It reiterates the principle adopted in the Gondra convention of 1923—namely, that the American states should submit to conciliation all disputes which threaten to disturb good relations. But the present treaty makes an improvement in the procedure of conciliation.

UNDER the Gondra convention, a state interested in a controversy might apply to one of two diplomatic committees, at Montevideo or Washington, each consisting of the three diplomats longest accredited to the capital concerned. When the diplomatic committee received an appeal for conciliation, its sole function was to convene a special commission of inquiry, composed of two representatives named by each party to the dispute and a neutral chairman chosen by the first four members. The weakness of this machinery lay in the fact that one state, a party to the dispute, could prevent its operation simply by refusing to name its representatives to the commission. Such was the case with Bolivia in the recent Fort Vanguardia incident with Paraguay. The new conciliation agreement, just approved by the Senate, remedies to a certain extent the defect in the 1923 agreement. It provides that the diplomatic committees in Montevideo and Washington may themselves act to conciliate a dispute, without waiting for the organization of the *ad hoc* commissions of inquiry, "when it appears that there is a prospect of disturbance of peaceful relations." Under such a provision the diplomatic committee at Montevideo may immediately intervene if war is again threatened between Bolivia and Paraguay, or in any similar crisis.

OBVIOUSLY, this procedure may be applied against the United States should it become involved in controversies with another American country. If the individual members of the diplomatic committees in these two capitals possessed the requisite courage, they could, for instance, act to prevent the United States from landing Marines in Nicaragua. While we are not bound to accept the advice of the conciliators, we promise not to engage in hostile acts until after the report of the commission is made. This promise should reassure our Latin-American friends that we mean well; while the possibility of this type of control, weak though it may be, will act as a deterrent to a policy of force by the United States. There are lawyers who will argue that this treaty does not apply to intervention by the United States in a country where no government exists that is capable of maintaining order.

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Even if this is true, these diplomatic committees apparently are the judges of their own jurisdictions, and they may insist on helping the United States decide whether or not the State Department correctly represents the situation.

THERE IS trouble again in China, which seems destined never to be long without the sound of guns. Chang Tsung-chang, former war-lord, has begun a revolution in Shantung Province, and is offering formidable opposition to the Nationalist forces. Foreigners' lives are deemed to be in danger, and the chief powers are hurrying warships to the scene. The Chinese officials are hinting broadly that Chang's adventure has Japanese backing. They say that the Opposition, fearing that Premier Tanaka would withdraw the large Japanese force now in Shantung, has incited Chang's rebellion in order to show that the troops are still needed there. While the theory is not inherently implausible, it is not at all necessary in order to explain Chang's acts. The Chinese *tuchuns* have never required very much encouragement to go on the war-path.

A DUTCH newspaper, the Dagblad, published at Utrecht, has printed the terms of an alleged secret treaty between Belgium and France, said to have been signed in 1920 and to have been still in force as recently as 1927. By its terms, this treaty pledges each power to come to the aid of the other in case of a war with Germany or with any other power assisted by Germany. Both France and Belgium have denied that this treaty exists, and it is a fact that it bears a strong resemblance to the forged documents of this character which are constantly floating about Europe. At the same time, the French and Belgian protestations of virtue are somewhat less forthright than could be wished. There was an agreement in 1920, they concede, but it was not a secret one. As for the allegation that it was still in force in a military sense in 1927, they say this must be due to a misunderstanding of correspondence between the general staffs of the two countries. But what is now needed is clearly a categorical statement. Was there a military agreement in 1920? If so, was it cancelled when Locarno was signed, and made any such understanding even more completely unnecessary than it already was under the League Covenant? And if it was not cancelled, why not? Failure of the two governments to be explicit on these points will certainly be subject to the gravest interpretation.

AFTER several years of a vain attempt to agree with the Pennsylvania Railroad upon a consolidation plan for the Eastern trunk-line district, the Baltimore and Ohio and the Van Sweringen interests have presented to the Interstate Commerce Commission far-reaching proposals of their own. It is rumored that the fourth great system in the region, the New York Central, will follow suit. These proposals attempt to avoid objections which the Interstate Commerce Commission has entertained in the past, in particular by announcing that the main systems will not attempt to gain control of other roads by stock purchase in advance of permission to consolidate granted by the Commission, and that they will take over any short lines which the Commission sees fit to assign to them. Further legislation will probably be needed if the plans are to be effectuated. In order to grant its approval, the Commission ought to be released from the obligation imposed upon it by the Transportation Act to adopt a final comprehensive plan for consolidation. And even if approval were granted, the systems making the proposals could not achieve control of some of the roads they want without the right of condemnation, since these roads are now controlled by, or are in sympathy with, their great rival. A bill containing these provisions has been introduced into Congress. Though the consolidation probably ought to be made, there is still considerable doubt whether consolidation along the lines laid out in the Transportation Act would be of great value. It is designed to preserve competition and to maintain, so far as possible, existing routes of shipment; but a large part of transportation waste could be avoided only by a truly national system which would interfere with both these aims.

IT BEGINS to look as if the proposed investigation of public-utility regulation in New York State would be a futile white-washing affair, unless Governor Roosevelt adopts a vigorous and independent attitude. A bill has been introduced into the legislature, with the approval of the Republican organization, to create a commission, a majority of the members of which would be appointed by the legislature, and a minority by the Governor. Since the Republican organization is itself virtually in the hands of the private-utility interests, and the legislature is subservient to the Republican organization, it is easy to forecast the temper of the majority of the Commission. The Commission would, under this bill, have no right to investigate the relationships between the holding companies and the operating companies, a subject which is, of course, one of the chief of those requiring investigation. Will the Governor connive at this plain attempt to pocket the public demand for a real inquiry? Only a strong stand on his part, coupled, perhaps, with the threat to appoint a Moreland Commissioner to carry on an investigation independently, will be capable of warding off the danger.

ONE OF the problems to which the Hoover administration will be forced to give much attention is immigration. The "national origins" system, to which the new President is opposed, will go into effect on July 1 unless action is taken to prevent it. It will greatly increase the number of immigrants permitted from Great Britain, and reduce the num-

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ber from most of the other chief countries. Hostility to "the newer immigrants," which is expressed in this law, is also reflected in other proposals brought before Congress. The old suggestion for police identity cards, to be carried by alien residents, has been revived, and it is proposed to deport from the country any alien who has been found guilty, sentenced to prison and served two or more years. Prison sentences are also urged for those found guilty of attempting to enter the country illegally. There is an increasing agitation for the application of the quota system to Latin-Americans and Canadians. The movement of Mexicans across the border has grown to serious proportions, and is causing concern to the Mexican government as well as to our own. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which has long approved various devices for limiting immigration, now proposes that there should be a ten-year "holiday" during which no immigrants at all would be permitted to enter. Legal curtailment of immigration is now a fixed policy of the United States, and there seems no doubt that it has the approval of a majority of our citizens. What remains to be done is to see to it that this general policy is executed with as much reasonableness and as close an approximation of justice as is possible.

THE twelfth session of the International Labor Conference, next June, will discuss the question of forced labor. To prepare the ground for this conference, the Labor Office of the League of Nations has appointed a committee of experts on native labor (including Professor J. P. Chamberlain of Columbia University), and has also prepared a detailed report upon forced labor in all of its forms. This report, which has just been published, summarizes the law and practice of forced labor in practically all of the countries of the world. It is somewhat surprising to learn that in the majority of colonies, governments still resort to compulsion for the purpose of finding labor for public works; and that in a number of colonies the government indirectly obliges laborers to work for private employers. The report lists prison labor for private employers in the United States as a form of forced labor, but it is silent in regard to the charge that peonage still exists in the Philippines. The fundamental principle which the report lays down, upon the basis of the study made, is that the general policy of an administration should be based, "so far as the economic development of a country is concerned, upon considerations of the amount of labor available, the capacities for work of the population and the evil effects which too sudden changes in their working habits may have on their social conditions." This is a principle which the Hilton Young commission has accepted for East Africa, and one that it is highly desirable that our own State Department and Mr. Firestone should apply in Liberia. It is too much to hope that the United States will participate in the forthcoming conference of the International Labor organization, a body which many of our employers still regard as a group of "Bolsheviki." Nevertheless, it is highly desirable that this government approve the slavery convention drawn up at Geneva in 1926, a convention which laid down the general principles under which the forthcoming labor conference hopes to act.

THE Lord's Day Alliance and other similar bodies are doing everything they can to bring about laws fastening the "blue Sunday" on the United States. They would prohibit Sunday movies, baseball, theatrical entertainments and the like, on the ground that if people have nowhere else to go, they can perhaps be coerced into attending church. The backers of this movement ought to be interested in an official report of the British government as to juvenile delinquency in Scotland. An investigation was made as to the circumstances surrounding many thousands of cases of juvenile delinquency, and it was discovered that offenses committed on Sunday were much more numerous than they ought to be on a basis of mere chance. Of 6,772 cases, those occurring on Sunday, instead of forming one-seventh of the total, formed one-fifth. In 733 other instances, Sunday offenses constituted more than one-third. "In our opinion," says the report, "the large proportion of juvenile delinquency on Sundays is mainly due to the fact that young people appear to have nothing to do on that day. The delinquency which is discovered is probably only a fraction of what is committed, and a remedy must be found. Interesting activities should be provided, and the best methods should be earnestly considered by local authorities and voluntary organizations." The Lord's Day Alliance, of course, knows what to recommend in this dilemma. Lock the young people up in church for several hours each Sunday, and then see to it that they have no opportunity for organized recreation. The old formula is still effective, and Satan will find some mischief still for idle hands to do.

A New Labor Program

A GROUP of members of the labor movement, who in order to avoid personal controversy chose to remain anonymous, have published in the current number of The Labor Age a "Challenge to Progressives" in the unions, consisting of a brief review of the present situation in the movement, and a tentative program on which they invite discussion. This pronouncement has attracted a good deal of attention, and there is some possibility that it will develop into a nucleus for action. It is worth the careful thought, not only of wage-earning men and women, but of all others who are conscious of the great significance of organized labor in the history of this and other nations, and of its possible influence in the future.

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The review calls attention to the familiar observations that the unions in the United States still enroll not more than one in five of those usually considered as potential members, that in spite of the fact that we have been experiencing a period of "prosperity," when membership is normally expected to grow, the unions have barely been holding their own in some fields and have suffered serious losses in others. We have no labor party in politics, no consumers' coöperative movement worthy of the name, little workers' education. Social insurance against sickness, old age and unemployment is backward in this country and is, so far as it has been developed, largely controlled by individual employers instead of being in the hands of the state and unions or both, as in most other industrial nations.

To this summary the statement adds the less widely observed facts that the movement has suffered morally and spiritually, that members do not attend meetings, that the old fire and enthusiasm are gone except in occasional factional strife which disrupts and weakens the organizations, that responsible leaders of the movement accept what an authority has recently called "a curious blend of 'defeatism' with complacency"—an attitude which prevents energetic attempts to extend the power of the movement beyond the few skilled occupations where it is strong. In place of an aggressive spirit seeking converts among workers, this review alleges, the leaders have substituted attempts to "sell" the union to the employer as a personal agency or an aid to production which can be more efficient than a company union.

There is no apportionment of blame for these conditions, and it is acknowledged that many of the circumstances—such as the intense hostility and the power of anti-union employers—furnish tremendous obstacles. But the obstacles are regarded as a challenge to action rather than a reason for discouragement.

The first of the sixteen points on the program is, naturally, to organize—to organize the unskilled and semi-skilled in the basic industries into industrial unions. This is easy to say, but difficult to do. The essential point of this plea is a call to courage and enthusiasm. Union organization cannot be achieved by "paper resolutions," by hiring discouraged and disillusioned professional organizers. It is a task for convinced and self-sacrificing young men and women working in industry. The statement points out that "it is not only lack of will to organize that holds back the movement, but lack of knowledge as to how to cope with new developments in industry." Study of organizing methods is therefore essential.

Other important points are apparently directed toward bringing to life in the movement that dormant fighting spirit which the authors believe has accompanied its eras of progress in the past. The appeal must be primarily to workers to create their own organizations, not to employers to favor them. The influence of the National Civic Federation and other institutions that wean the leaders away from the viewpoint of the wage-earner must be fought. Workers must not be debarred from union membership on grounds of race, or views on politics or economics. Though discipline must be administered to members who commit overt acts against the union ("not excluding crooks, grafters, gangsters and politicians"), minorities which happen to be in opposition must be tolerated, as a condition of vitality. Injunctions and the like must be fought by active resistance on the picket line as well as by litigation and legislation. Social insurance and cooperative enterprises should be encouraged. Other items in the program include such familiar matters as the five-day week, workers' education, union control in the shop, anti-militarism, international coöperation, sanity on Russia, a labor party. And, as a general policy, the statement urges that it is necessary to "keep alive the soul of the labor movement, set forth the movement as a great idealistic force having for its goal a social order controlled by the workers." This does not mean that the unions must adopt communism, or that they can fail to pay attention to practical measures and immediate results, since "man lives by bread." "A trade union is not a revolutionary political party." But "man does not live by bread alone," and there must be something in the movement to justify sacrifice and struggle against great odds, something to destroy the opiate of complacency.

This ambitious program represents a healthy reaction much needed for the welfare of the movement; if it can develop able leaders, and if the state of mind of many members of the rank and file is such that they will follow, it is capable of doing much. Intelligent analyses of the American labor movement in the recent past have come to the conclusion that in the main it has suffered from bifurcation between a leadership, on the one hand, seemingly incapable of extending the membership, and sometimes hostile to any sign of life, and a reckless opposition, on the other, which was perfectly willing to sacrifice the unity and power of the movement in the interests of revolutionary dogma. In many cases the inactive leadership had a monopoly of the common sense, and the opposition a monopoly of the enthusiasm and organizing ability. What was needed was a reinvigoration of trade-union spirit which would attract the persons of devotion, ability and energy to activities really helpful to the movement.

The chief dangers facing this new group, if it should take real form, are sufficiently obvious. The first is, that it will degenerate into merely another expression of factionalism. It would be fatally easy to start a political fight within the unions, and divert the energies of the protestants away from doing the practical job, of which they so clearly see the need, into a mere struggle, probably fruitless, against the existing officers of the unions. Some of these officers, perhaps, ought to be replaced, but there is little chance of doing so by an effort which

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begins with that objective mainly in view. Other officers would welcome above all things a resurgence of labor enthusiasm which would really be capable of doing organization work as they cannot do it, from the top, provided the active spirits in the endeavor did not imperil the movement by attempting to impose an alien and unpractical philosophy upon it, or by stirring up fratricidal strife among those already organized. It should be remembered that the officials are limited by circumstances, that many of them are just as devoted and intelligent as anyone in the movement. No general can wage successful war without an army. No existing official need be opposed unless he makes it impossible for the progressives to function. Some might be induced to go far in the desired direction if the rank and file would encourage them.

The second danger is that the progressives may themselves develop a hard-shelled dogma which will interfere with the effectiveness of their efforts. They need, for the moment, a fighting and aggressive attitude, but this does not mean that there is no real value in "selling the union to the employers," or in coöperation between labor and friendly managements. The two policies are not, either in practice or in theory, mutually exclusive; on the contrary, they are necessary complements for the success of unionism in modern society. The danger is in the adoption of either where it does not belong. The most powerful and successful unions today have won significant victories by friendly persuasion, they have practised most effective coöperation with management, and at the same time they have waged relentless warfare upon those employers who would not recognize and deal with organized labor. Unless labor in general can keep more than one idea in its mind at the same time, unless it can concentrate aggression where aggression belongs, and at the same time develop its constructive activities where it has already achieved power and standing, it is lost in the complex of a triumphant capitalist civilization. The progressives can be useful in supplying a fighting spirit where it is needed, but they will tempt disaster and immensely increase their difficulties if they repudiate wholesale the more sympathetic attitude which organized labor has created toward itself in quarters which admit its proper function in society.

Massachusetts Justice Again

ONCE MORE, Massachusetts justice has been called in question. In this case there is no question of a political factor, as there was in that of Sacco and Vanzetti; but it is none the less an interesting one. Its central figure is a young Italian named Gangi Cero, who is under sentence of death for the murder of another Italian named Fantasio.

Cero was to have been executed some weeks ago, but has been reprieved. On the day before the sentence was to have been carried out, his brother, a longshoreman, came from another state to say farewell. What he learned from the doomed man in the death-house caused him to hurry to the office of the District Attorney, who caused an investigation to be set on foot. As a result of facts which then came to light, Cero, just seven hours before he was to die, was given a brief postponement of execution, which was afterward extended.

Cero insists that he is innocent. According to his story, he was walking on the street with a man named Gallo, older than himself, his friend and employer, when Gallo pulled out a revolver and shot Fantasio. There were many other people on the sidewalks, and, hearing the shot, they all ran from the scene. Without thinking about it, Cero, not unnaturally, did the same. The police construed this as evidence of guilt on his part, and arrested him. Cero says that Gallo came to him in prison and said: "You keep your mouth shut and I will see that you get off. My lawyer who is a great man will defend you. Just don't talk." Cero relied on Gallo, and kept still. Gallo's lawyer defended him, most inadequately it would seem, for, despite the utter lack of any serious evidence against him, he was found guilty and sentenced to die.

There was no reason that anyone could discover why Cero should have killed Fantasio. There was, on the other hand, a bitter quarrel between Gallo and Fantasio. The latter's sister-in-law, Filomena Romano, formerly led a disreputable life and Gallo lived off her illicit earnings. The two men had quarreled over her, and Fantasio had told Gallo he would kill him. Filomena was walking with Fantasio when the murder occurred, and has made an affidavit that she looked around at the moment the shooting took place and saw Gallo fire. Another woman who was near by at the time has made a similar statement. Both women have since repudiated these statements, however. In Filomena's case the reason may have been pity or affection for her former lover, but there is another incentive which probably applies both to her and to the second woman. Gallo is a member of a notorious gang in Boston, which lives by blackmailing the members of the Italian colony. Anyone who appears as a witness against Gallo stands an excellent chance of being killed by some other member of the gang.

Though Cero refused to talk, acting under advice from his "good friend" Gallo, he did maintain stoutly that he was innocent. He says that during the course of the trial he was approached with an offer that if he would plead guilty to a lesser charge of manslaughter, he would be given only three to five years in prison. His counsel (Gallo's lawyer) urged him to accept this offer. "But I didn't do it," replied Cero. "Why should I say I did?" This, we submit, hardly sounds like the argument of a guilty man. It would be interesting to know by what authority this outrageous proposal was made, and whether it would have been carried out. Or was Gallo merely seeking to nail down the coffin of his victim and thus make doubly sure his own safety?

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In any case, he bungled the matter; he is now being tried for the murder. Cero meanwhile is still under sentence of death.

This case is certain to spur on those who are now seeking the abolition of capital punishment, in Massachusetts and elsewhere. But for the accident of his brother's visit to his cell, Cero would now be dead. Seven hours' delay in obtaining substantiation for his story, and he would be dead. A few more such incidents, and people may well begin to ask whether, in the light of such fantastic incompetence on the part of the administrators of justice, any legal decision as to guilt or innocence should be made irrevocable. The case should also cause public consideration, within Massachusetts and outside it, of the peculiar conditions which apparently prevail in that state. The evidence against Cero was so flimsy that it is impossible to believe any jury could have based a life-or-death decision upon it. The disturbing question is therefore forced upon us: Is race or class prejudice so strong in Boston today that a poverty-stricken alien cannot hope to obtain justice in the city's courts? And if so, how is this situation to be remedied?

The Way into the World Court

IN HIS note of February 19, agreeing to an "informal exchange of views" in regard to America's adherence to the World Court, Mr. Kellogg has broken an official silence of three years. In this note he rejects the compromise to the Senate reservations suggested at the Geneva conference in September, 1926, on the curious ground that the Covenant of the League may be amended at any time and that we should not, therefore, have "adequate protection." Is the State Department ignorant of the fact that an amendment to the Covenant does not bind any League member without its consent and that it would still less bind the United States?

Despite Mr. Kellogg's faulty reasoning, it may well be true that the United States is nearer the Court than it has been for some time. This is because of the election of Mr. Hughes as a judge of the Court last September, and of the participation of Mr. Root in the work of the expert committee now revising the Court statute at Geneva. If our two most respectable Republicans cannot get us into the World Court, is there anybody who can?

It is scarcely necessary to argue the importance of the adhesion of the United States to the World Court protocol. As long as we refrain from participating in already existing, smoothly working machinery for the pacific settlement of disputes, our professions about renouncing war will have little value. Until we participate in such machinery, it will be impossible to work out satisfactory treaties.

It is scarcely necessary to argue that the World Court is the most effective international tribunal that the nations have so far created. Its only competitor, a rather sleepy one, is the old Hague Tribunal which consists of a temporary, shifting group of judges, chosen from a long panel to try a specific case. During a period of thirty years this tribunal has decided only eighteen disputes. During a short seven years, the World Court, consisting of thirteen permanent judges, has handed down eleven judgments and fifteen advisory opinions. The independence and impartiality of this court have been abundantly demonstrated. Thus, in the Eastern Carelia case, the Court declined the Council's request to give an advisory opinion in a matter affecting Russia, because the Soviet government had not recognized the Court's jurisdiction. In the Lotus case, the Court decided against the contentions of France, the dominant power in Europe, in favor of that outlaw nation, Turkey, in a case involving a collision on the Ægean Sea.

No one has seriously proposed that the United States should give the Court compulsory jurisdiction, under the Optional Clause, to try legal disputes to which the United States is a party. We have merely been asked to sign the protocol establishing the Court, participate in the election of judges, and pay our share of the upkeep. Only two serious questions have arisen regarding our participation. The first arises from the system of electing judges, the second, out of advisory opinions.

Judges of the World Court are elected by the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations—and the United States is not a member. Nevertheless, in January, 1926, the Senate adopted a reservation agreeing to adhere to the Court, which asked that the United States be permitted to participate in League meetings for the purpose of these elections. The conference held in Geneva in September, 1926, to pass on our reservations, agreed to this request. The election problem has, therefore, been solved. Our willingness to participate in Assembly and Council meetings for Court purposes may be a happy precedent for more extended coöperation between ourselves and the League in the future.

The problem of advisory opinions has proved more difficult. Under the Covenant, either the Council or the Assembly may ask the Court for an "advisory opinion," which, while legal in character, is not necessarily binding. At one time the Supreme Court of the United States gave such opinions, and at present the courts of eleven states in the American Union, of Canada and of other countries exercise this power. In international relations, the advisory opinion has served an even greater purpose than in domestic law, simply because in international affairs the line between legal and political questions is not yet clearly drawn. There are many instances where states which would not submit a dispute to the World Court for final judgment would not object if the Council should ask the Court for an advisory opinion, as an aid to effecting a conciliatory settlement of the controversy.

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Thus France and England did not object when the Council asked the Court to pass on the highly delicate question of certain French nationality decrees in Morocco. It is improbable that these states would have agreed to arbitrate what came near to being a domestic question; but by means of an advisory opinion, they were able to come to an agreement.

From the standpoint of the United States, the difficulty is that the Council, a body on which we are not represented, may request an advisory opinion, and that such an opinion, once given, may conceivably affect the interests of the United States. The obvious solution for this difficulty would have been for the Senate to adopt the Swanson proposal that no advisory opinion should bind the United States without its consent. But the majority of the Senate felt that it would be uncomfortable for the United States to be placed in a position of having to disavow an unpalatable opinion, once it had been handed down. Consequently, the fifth reservation of the Senate was to the effect that the Court should not entertain any requests for an advisory opinion "touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest," without the consent of the United States.

At the Geneva conference, the League members accepted all of the Senate reservations except the fifth. Here they proposed a compromise. The Conference pointed out that it was still uncertain whether the Council could request an advisory opinion by unanimous vote or merely by majority. It therefore proposed that the Court should attribute to the objection to a request for an opinion from the United States the same force that attaches to a vote against such request given by any member of the League. Thus, if it should later be decided that unanimity was necessary, the United States would have an absolute veto; otherwise, its vote would be counted like that of any League member.

This compromise, Mr. Kellogg says, is not acceptable to the United States, though he believes some other formula for safeguarding our interests may be found. What will this formula be? There is some sentiment in the United States for abolishing the advisory opinion on the ground that it is not a judicial function. But, as we have seen, this function is performed by courts in many countries. With the development of international law, the time may come when all disputes will be submitted to clear-cut judgments. But until that distant time arrives, there will be a place for a more flexible procedure which will bridge the gap between the legal questions, which so far are usually unimportant, and the really important political disputes.

There is also some sentiment in favor of deciding that all requests for advisory opinions should be given by unanimous vote of the Council and of the United States. Any such ruling might also obstruct the development of international organization. At present, the principle is established that the votes of the parties to a dispute should not be counted when the Council is making a recommendation, and a modification of the principle of absolute unanimity in the case of requests for advisory opinions might stultify the conciliatory function of the Council.

Rather than injure the development of world organization, it would be better to grant the demand of the United States for an absolute veto, provided this veto were confined to questions of valid concern to the United States. The difficulty now is, that other states have no means of knowing whether we will "claim an interest" in, say, a dispute between Poland and Lithuania over minorities on the ground that an opinion of the World Court on the subject might be quoted against us in regard to the treatment of Japanese in California. Obviously any such use of our veto power might have fatal consequences; the granting of such a power would give the United States a position, not of equality with other states, but of privileges. Suppose that the Council has studied the Polish-Lithuanian question for several years and then, as a last resort, decided to ask for an advisory opinion. Suppose at the last minute the United States, knowing nothing at first hand of the nature of past deliberations, exercises its veto. Obviously, the conciliatory work of the Council might thus be thwarted by a state which, unlike members of the League, had assumed no responsibilities for the maintenance of peace.

These fears might be dissipated by an American declaration to the effect that we would utilize our veto only when our interests are immediately affected—that we would not abuse our special position. But the real solution of the problem is in the participation of an American representative in the work of the Council as to any question where an advisory opinion may be asked. Once associated in the work of the Council for the purposes of the Court, it is probable that this association would be extended to other fields, so that instead of maintaining a selfish attitude toward the exercise of the World Court's powers, we would give both Council and Court our whole-hearted support in the settlement of all international controversies.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Men and Machines[1]

I. *"A Billion Horses"*

THERE are well over a billion horse-power of mechanical energy loose in the world today. These prancing steeds have created a host of problems, in that their discipline to date leaves much to be desired. As in all major questions, we find a party of the Right, of the Center, and of the Left; of whom Messrs. Spengler, Dewey and Ford may be taken as representative spokesmen.

Says Mr. Spengler:

> Man has felt the machine to be devilish, and rightly. . . . There will come a time when he will blot the whole thing from his memory and his environment, and create about himself a wholly new world, in which nothing of this Devil's technique is left.

Says Mr. Dewey:

> One cannot be sure. If we look at the overt and outer phenomena of American life, the public and official side, we note hardness, tightness, a clamping down, regimentation and standardization. But if we look at the inner activities of individuals and groups, we note an immense vitality. . . . Our civilization is like a Ford, mechanically good, standardized, yet capable of great mobility; ready to run on any road, restless, aimless, but vital and moving.

Says Mr. Ford:

> The function of the machine is to liberate man from brute burdens and release his energies to the building of his intellectual and spiritual powers. . . . Machinery is accomplishing in the world what man has failed to do by preaching, propaganda, or the written word—ushering in the United States of the world!

These philosophers of gloom, of the fence rail, and of ecstasy, could be endlessly multiplied. All are entitled to their views, and many defend them with acumen and erudition, but most of the exhibits I have ever seen are in summary form. We are told clearly enough what the philosopher thinks, but not why he thinks it. The underlying facts upon which the conclusions are based either do not come into the picture at all, or come only in the form of all too few examples. Before throwing in my lot with any of the parties—and I have been strongly tempted by the exponents of all three—I want to know more about the basic structure.

Precisely what is a machine? How does it differ from a tool; what are its laws? How many machines are there; how often do we encounter them directly and indirectly? Is this contact growing, and in what direction? How did the Machine Age start; why did it start; what are its main lines of development since James Watt? What does mass production really mean? Is anybody controlling the process, or is it running wild in an orbit of its own? Is its destructive power in warfare as catastrophic as the Jeremiahs believe? Is it really making a new slave in the factory worker; and if so, is he a lowlier being than the galley slave of Greece? How many of these alleged robots is it making? Are machines prolonging the average life-span only to raise the percentage of invalids and neurotics? What are they actually doing to craftsmanship, skill, quality of output, art, architecture and recreation? Is social intelligence on the decline? Is standardization a fact, and if so, is it any worse than the standard taboos and mores of other cultures, and of primitive peoples? Is it worse to be a Babbitt than a member of an Indian caste? How much justice is there in the claim that the sublime spiritual values of the East are crucified by the materialism of the West? Is the use of the hand actually declining, and if so, what of it? What is the limit, if any, to biological adaptation to the machine?

Alas, no complete answers to any of these questions are readily available, and for some, the conflicting factors are too intertwined ever to be unravelled. But I believe it possible to make a beginning toward a better understanding of the machine, by telling what it is, what it does, and enumerating one by one all the major effects of its activity which can be isolated.

One grows weary of wholesale denunciations and praise; while the fence rail has never been an over-comfortable resting place. These articles are an unofficial survey of little-explored regions. If you care to join a sort of statistical Don Quixote, I shall be honored with your company, but I warn you that the topography is rough, the roads uncertain, and all too frequently unmarked. The clearest path is in technology, and here we had better start.

An enterprising statistician has attempted to calculate, by nations, the relative productive output

[1] This is the first of a series of five articles, taken from a forthcoming book by Mr. Chase and presented here in a condensed form. The author wishes us to point out that, obviously, space does not here permit the logical sequence from point to point found in the full manuscript, and that not all the questions raised in the introduction can be answered in this series.

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per person at the present time.[1] One is more impressed with his courage than with the final accuracy of his figures, but they serve, at least, as a rough index of mechanization.

RELATIVE PRODUCTION

China	1	Czechoslovakia	9.5
India	1.25	Germany	12
Russia	2.5	Belgium	16
Italy	2.75	Great Britain	18
Japan	3.5	Canada	20
France	8.25	United States	30
Australia	8.5		

Tables like this are usually gorgeously exaggerated, being based either on money values or the best possible continuous performance. It might well be that if all able-bodied citizens of the United States employed their total mechanical equipment for eight hours a day, 300 days in the year, they could unload upon a groaning world thirty times as much stuff by weight as an equivalent number of Chinamen. But it is safe to say that they would be buried under such a load of foods, textiles, home-furnishings, motor cars, and widgets, as would scarcely permit them to breathe, let alone move. Food is, and forever has been, the primary output of mankind, both in importance and in avoirdupois. A Chinaman must eat as well as a realtor of Zenith, and must eat probably at least half as much by weight, if he is to keep healthy. I doubt, accordingly, if the actual net output per person is as much as ten times greater in the United States than in China, and it may be less. In respect to potential output, utilizing the industrial equipment all the time (at least 50 percent of it in the United States is normally idle) the table is probably nearer the facts.

Mr. F. G. Tryon furnishes the United States with an accurate index, not of production, but of energy, which includes both mechanical power and heat. It even includes the power of work animals reduced to a mechanical equivalent. In this table, the year 1899 is taken as 100.

	Energy	*Production*	*Population*
1870	18	56	51
1880	33	75	66
1890	70	78	83
1899	100	100	100
1905	156	145	111
1910	203	160	121
1915	218	180	134
1920	271	210	139
1926	310	260	155

The industrial revolution in the United States began in earnest in the sixties; mass production commenced to get under way after the turn of the century. Note how both energy and production increase after 1899, reflecting the new technique—the new revolution, as Mr. R. G. Tugwell styles it. Energy has grown precisely twice as fast as population. Half of the total energy budget, the equivalent of nearly 500 million tons of coal, is consumed as heat. The industrial revolution was no less a period of sudden advance in the art of applying heat than in the art of applying motion.

The billion horses stand at the crest of the curve today, and that figure is not poetic license, but probably an underestimate. Mr. F. R. Low, editor of Power, has calculated the total capacity of prime movers, as follows:

	Horse-power
United States	704,000,000
England	175,000,000
Germany	175,000,000
France	70,000,000
Total, Four Nations	1,124,000,000

In a letter to the author, the Geological Survey estimates the United States totals for 1923 (since when there has been a great increase):

	Horse-power
Automotive engines	507,300,000
Steam railroads	74,600,000
Electric central stations	22,000,000
Manufacturing	19,700,000
Agriculture	18,300,000
Ships	10,300,000
Mines	5,000,000
Electric railways	4,100,000
Irrigation	1,300,000
Total	662,600,000

The total and that of Mr. Low are in reasonable agreement—and note the enormous fraction of all power for which the automobile is responsible.

Here is a billion and more of horse-power in the four great industrial nations alone. Several hundred million additional would have to be added before the world aggregate could be struck; can the grand total be far short of a billion and a half? Before Watt's time we had the muscles of men and of animals. Now we have added the muscles of nine billion additional men (assuming the conservative ratio of six men to the horse-power); enough to increase the present population of the world by five—and all able-bodied males! Remember, however, that these new muscles only work spasmodically; remember the number of hours that your car rests in the garage; remember the thousands of cold factory engines on any work day, the idle locomotives, the docked steamships, the silent tractors—and do not become fantastically excited as to the nine billion mechanical men. At any given time great

[1] Mr. T. T. Read in Mechanical Engineering, May, 1926.

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numbers of them are taking a siesta. In their energetic moments, increasingly they lend a hand to mass production.

When I was a youngster, I had a passion for building little battleships out of wood. Having got a fleet of a dozen sail together after weeks of labor, I would set them afloat on a pond and, in a few delirious moments, pound them to pieces with an air rifle. After one or two engagements, I cast about for a way of saving some of the long hours of carpentry, and a method soon came to hand. Heretofore, I had constructed each vessel as a separate unit, lovingly sawing and carving every smokestack, pilot house and mast for its appointed place. Now I standardized the fleet—dreadnoughts to be eighteen inches long, cruisers twelve, monitors ten, destroyers eight. I piled four boards together, ruled a pencil form on the top one, and cut four hulls at a sawing. Smoke stacks and gun turrets were required in quantity by all craft, and these I sawed by the dozen from old broomsticks. Deck-houses, like hulls, were done in job lots. A day or two of steady work, and my workroom was littered with standard parts. The hulls were placed in rows, and the parts set upon them. Then, with a hammer and a mouthful of nails, the task of assembly could be vigorously pushed forward. Instead of weeks, three days was enough to make ready for destruction a fleet of equal tonnage. But I have to confess that they did not make quite so brave a showing.

Today as I plough through volume after volume by the learned exponents of modern industry, I am convinced that, quite unaided and despite his tender years, that scrubby-handed boy had discovered and applied the principles of mass production . . . (while Henry Ford gets all the kudos). Also I suspect, despite the tumult and the shouting, that all workers in wood and metal possessed of common sense, from the Cro-Magnon man onward, have similarly, and frequently, invented and employed the technique. The modern pæans are understandable in respect to the scale of operations, but hardly in respect to basic principles. Therefore, when the guest of honor at the next banquet you attend says, as he is sure to: " . . . the American genius, which gave mass production to the world," remember that it is a pretty old world.

Mass production, says John Gaillard, is not sheer bigness; it has nothing to do with financial consolidation; it is not concerned with high speed or great volume, as such. It means, in essence, just two things:

> The making of standard interchangeable parts.
> The assembling of these parts into the completed unit, with a minimum of handicraft labor.

Various important corollaries today follow upon these two basic principles. They include:

> Careful preplanning of the standard design.
> A highly developed art of measurement.
> Tools capable of working to very small tolerances (allowances of error) so that interchangeable parts can really interchange.
> A continuous flow of parts through the assembly system.
> A continual emphasis on the automatic function—the fewer human hands touch the process, the better.

When the King's armorer was hammering out upon his forge the ninety-pound coat of mail for Henry VIII, he had to do some rather nice measuring, and do it in advance. Otherwise the bally thing would never go together. But in that he himself put it together, he could chance a certain amount of error: by touch and eye he could see that the parts fitted as he went along. Similarly all good craftsmen down the ages—locksmiths, boat builders, cabinet makers—measured, and backed their measurements with trial and error.

After Watt the situation began to change. The first effect of the steam engine was greatly to increase the sheer output of commodities—say, yards of cloth, or dozens of kettles—without changing drastically the function of the worker. He had a power tool rather than a hand tool, and he could do more with it. He continued to "mate" parts by putting them back in the lathe or the drill, scraping them down to size, or by making the hole bigger. He continued to be essentially a craftsman.

Then came the beginning of mass production to change his status altogether. Shape-giving operations were subdivided among a number of men, each turning a little, or drilling a little. The separate parts produced were piled up in storage awaiting assembly. Sometimes enormous inventories of finished and partly finished units were accumulated.

Next, "continuous-flow production" was born of the necessity to straighten out the assembly problem. Under its rules the parts never get into the inventory bins at all, but start to move the minute they are completed—preferably on a conveyor belt—toward the central assembly point. If the completed part is, say, the frame of a Ford car, it moves steadily down the main aisle, gathering up the other parts which feed in from either side, and bolting them home as it goes. This saves time, interest on working capital, and skilled labor. Bolters are cheaper than trial-and-error hand fitters. Also, the whole process will drastically increase output, precisely as I proved with my battleships.

If trial-and-error fitting was to be given up, something had to take its place. The machine tool moved into the gap. It is the machine which makes machines, and its importance in the industrial revolution, particularly in the development of mass production, is enormous. "Upon these tools depend the construction of all other kinds of machinery,

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and the size and accuracy of all modern machinery depend upon the size and accuracy of the machine tools available for their construction." Henry Ford has about 25,000 of them at Highland Park, divided into 250 classes. American inventors have made great contributions to this art, especially:

The milling machine.
The turret lathe.
The automatic lathe.
The grinding machine.

Meanwhile accuracy has been attained in two directions. Instead of cutting by the lathe or planer, the present practice is to bring the surface to size by grinding it with a grinding machine, thus insuring a far snugger fit. Secondly, measuring instruments have become almost diabolic in their march toward nothing at all. The micrometer was invented by a Frenchman. Brown and Sharpe presently introduced one which would measure to a hundred-thousandth of an inch. Today, standard reference gauges, using the principle of the length of light waves, are accurate to one millionth of an inch! (Mostly used in laboratory work.) Against such devices for controlling machine tools, hand fitting is a bull in a China shop—totally unable to compete. The interchangeable parts for mass production can thus be turned out to an accuracy of astronomical minuteness, by machines built like a bull rhinoceros. Finally, the whole process, save setting the original gauges, is removed from human interference, and made as self-regulating and automatic as possible, with the ideal of 100 percent automatic performance always before the man at the drawing board. Human fingers are too gross and clumsy to fumble with this combination of incredible delicacy and roaring power.

You get the picture. A great glass domed space, flanked with battalions of humped and gleaming tool machines, taking bars and billets of raw steel, shaping them, bending them, boring them, grinding them; delivering unit parts to a conveyor which bears them to a main assembly belt where they are locked together—men sometimes assisting—and then into the shipping room—so many completed articles to the minute, no more, no less, a steady stream of motor cars, radios, bicycles, typewriters, clocks, tractors—what you will.

The Krupp Works today cover five square miles of floor space. It takes three days to see it all. Ninety-foot plates of steel are rolled out like chewing gum. A 4,000-ton press picks up a log of steel as though it were a lead pencil, holds it by the throat, and sinks a hammer twelve inches into its glowing mass, squeezing out a gush of molten steel like water from a rag. In the final assembly rooms are acres of locomotives in dignified rows: "Diesel engines towering like a procession of elephants with howdahs on their backs, textile machinery sprouting before your eyes like Ford cars; a sea of dynamos, motors, turbines, harvesters, cash registers, motion picture projectors, automatic weighers and mixers, as far as the eye can see."

In 1929, aeroplanes are built in small factories by skilled workmen. While plenty of power is available to help them, there is a great deal of hand fitting and adjustment. When a "ship" is launched, the entire working force assembles, and with pride and joy watches the first flight of the winged creature on which so much individual care and attention has been lavished. Not disembodied standard parts have been fabricated, but a living unity, with a character of its own. So Donald MacKay and his workmen built the "Lightning" and the "Flying Cloud." But the clipper ship was ever a dangerous beauty with her incredible spread of canvas; and so is a modern aeroplane. The former was overwhelmed by steam, before she could be standardized —for which mercy the artist will thank whatever gods may be. The latter is still in the experimental stage, fickle, and far from fool-proof. In a few more years, a standard, reasonably safe design will have been evolved. The little aircraft shops will disappear; out on the streets will go most of their skilled mechanics; great walls of cement and glass will rise; battalions of lathes and grinders will spew out their millions of interchangeable parts; the assembly line will begin to march; and gone forever will be the individual ship and the loving care that followed and took pride in her.

There is a certain sadness in all this, but it does not behoove us to grow maudlin. We may weep for the spirit of craftsmanship here crucified, but we can only rejoice at the arrival of a stout, inexpensive plane, which millions of us may use without dropping to death in a tail spin. Furthermore, while a standardized clipper might have lost her beauty due to the limitation of her design, and the medium in which she was worked, a standardized aeroplane need send no hostages to loveliness.

Mass production crystallizes years of experiment, and trial and error, into one standard design. The design is then executed by the most intensive preparation of dies, casting, and special machine tools, involving literally acres of paper work. But when the power is turned on, experimentation must cease. Otherwise continuous flow is thrown out of step, the myriad of standard movements upset, and the whole tremendous investment threatened. The cogs must all articulate or the vast monster becomes as helpless as a blinded dinosaur. It cost Henry Ford a cool hundred million to change from Model T to Model A. More than 50 percent of all his production machinery had to be redesigned and replaced.

If the design is good for years to come, mass production is the cheapest way to give the product to the world, and, for many articles, the way which promises the best in quality. But if the design is dubious, or likely to be rapidly superseded by better designs, mass production may act as a brake on technical progress; a morass into which creative invention stumbles and sinks. Ford could afford

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his hundred-million-dollar shift, but what the richest man on earth can do, few can emulate. More cautious corporations do not tend to change their methods, endangering dividends, until they must. This explains why many brilliant inventions are purchased by great companies, only to be put on the shelf. Mass production has dug their graves. This is the reason, too, why M. Siegfried warns us that Europe, with her more flexible system of production, may, like David with his sling-shot, conquer us in the end.

Factory machines have progressed through three chief stages. (Though any given factory today may still remain in the earlier stages.)

> First, they supplied more power to the skilled worker. They increased his output, but left his job substantially unchanged.
>
> Second, they subdivided the manufacturing process, allowing unskilled or semi-skilled workers to feed them, remove the output, and carry on the few repetitive motions which their tending required. This is the robot stage.
>
> Third, they replaced the unskilled worker with their own steel fingers, doing the feeding, processing, packaging, themselves. The skilled man comes back into the picture as inspector, repairer, adjuster of delicate controls. His job is interesting, non-repetitive; requires intelligence. The robot has largely disappeared.

A new automatic plant for making automobile frames performs a total of four million operations a day upon the 360 frames which are delivered every hour. Day and night, seven days a week, the process runs unhampered by the poisons of fatigue. But without 75,000 frames put upon the market yearly, the tremendous overhead of the original installation cannot be covered. Mass production is risky, unless the market is assured.

Industry does not leap, of course, from hand-tending to the completely automatic. There are all manner of semi-automatic stages in between. If a given article has twenty stations in its manufacturing process, the automatic curve may begin with only one of them, then spread to four, five, a dozen operations. Only recently has the full cycle been achieved. But more and more are coming into line. The tendency is all about us. We see it in dial telephones, the talking movies, manless elevators, mechanical salesmen ("Thank you, it's toasted!"), oil burning home furnaces with thermostat control, torpedoes and aeroplanes guided by radio, mechanical stokers, automatic steel plants, sugar mills, soap factories. We see it—and welcome it—in the "fool-proof" movement, whereby automatic signals displace the biological uncertainties of the human nervous system. Automatic bulkheads are capable of preventing such disasters as overwhelmed the "Vestris"—provided owners are willing to pay for them.

Mass production, after the current Detroit or Ruhr fashion, requires great numbers of robots to assemble the unit parts turned out by machine. But as the automatic process gains headway, machines themselves take over the job of assembly and a hundred robots give way to one skilled man. The billion horses are increasingly pulling in this direction—though they have many leagues to go. In so far as they make headway, economic dangers may be complicated, but the danger to the central nervous system of the man on the job is certainly decreased.

The other day I watched a rectangular figure, fashioned like a cubist's nightmare, raise its arm when whistled to through a telephone. As the arm came up, a mechanical piano began to play, a fan to revolve, a washing machine to bubble, while dial lights snapped on and off in the general region of his stomach. It was no other than Mr. Televox, the product of the Westinghouse laboratories, representing a late development in the automatic process. He will displace the skilled watcher of dials in power houses. The New York Edison Company recently opened an electrical distributing station to be operated without a human being within its walls. Mr. Televox will be the only resident, requiring neither food, rest, nor sleep. He will be telephoned to from time to time by a living man, three miles away, and according to the orders spoken or whistled, will break circuits, move levers, stop and start machines.

The ghost of James Watt must have shuddered down the years—for he was a kindly man—as the bodies of women, men and little children were broken in the dismal caverns where his engines pounded . . . but for Mr. Televox his back must straighten, and his hand go gladly to the salute.

STUART CHASE.

(Mr. Chase's second article, "Saving Labor and Losing It," will appear next week.)

Midnight

Why will you leave? The strains are festal;
No color quits the gem or shawl.
I go to seek, almighty hostess,
Instant departure from the ball.

So suddenly confused and frightened?
A moment gone, you shared the glee.
Godmother knew, then—"When it's darkest
They all unmask!" she said to me.

Yet hear the revelry and jesting;
Do you regret the agile dance?
I fly from what the clock, maturing,
Lays bare to the incredulous glance.

This seemed a friend and this a lover?
The guest is gay who never asks!
One black hour strips the sweet disguises
And time will not put back the masks.

MARIAN STORM.

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Canada's Arctic Gateway

THIS WINTER, gangs of laborers are stretching tracks across the frozen tundra of northern Manitoba, building the first railway to Hudson Bay. Next summer, ballast trains will dump gravel to be packed beneath ties that are now tamped with snow. By the time the threshers have done their job in September, trains of golden grain will be rumbling along over Canada's newest railway to take ship at Canada's new Arctic seaport of Fort Churchill.

When this happens, it will mean that the prairie grain-growers will at last have won their long struggle for a short-cut for prairie products on their way to the markets of the world.

If you glance at the map, you will see that Hudson Bay is an inland sea connected with the Atlantic by Hudson Strait, which is itself 400 miles long and averages eighty miles in width. On the western shore of Hudson Bay is Fort Churchill, a land-locked harbor capable of accommodating ships of any draft. Fort Churchill is 100 miles nearer to Vancouver than to the coast of Labrador. It is 100 miles farther west than Duluth and fifty miles farther west than St. Paul. Yet it is 100 miles nearer to Liverpool than Montreal. And it is within 500 miles of the eastern border of the vast prairie wheat-lands of Canada. Why, then, has this port not been linked up long ago by rail?

Most of us shiver when we think of Hudson Bay, picturing fur traders sledding over ice-floes. We have heard of it only as the field of the Hudson's Bay Company's activities, that "Company of Merchant Adventurers" whose charter was granted in 1670 by King Charles II of England. And the thought of that company suggests dog teams rather than railways.

Canadian prairie wheat brings top prices at Liverpool, where world wheat prices are set. But before it arrives there, much of it must be shipped a thousand miles by rail, carried in lake boats another thousand miles, and then loaded on ocean vessels—that is, in summer or fall: in winter the rail haul is nearly two thousand miles.

Transportation, storage, and other handling costs are fixed charges. They are the same whether the wheat is fetching high prices or low. In years of low prices the farmers are usually pinched. Naturally they have looked for means of whittling down these crucial charges—from political agitation for lower freight rates, and joint ownership of elevators, to the organization of huge selling pools.

For many years, a few far-sighted men have dreamed of a railway to Hudson Bay. In spite of the traditions of blizzards, icebergs, and the barrenness of the country to be crossed, members of various prairie bodies representing both rural and urban groups have made trips to the bay. As a result of these visits, they gradually became convinced that the proposal was thoroughly practicable. The handicap of ice had been largely exaggerated—had not the little schooners of the Hudson's Bay Company been negotiating the bay and strait for over 300 years?—and the winters on the bay, while longer than in places farther south, are no more severe than in many other parts of the continent that are already settled.

The project, however, still seemed too visionary for any of the existing privately owned railways to undertake, and delegations were therefore sent to the federal government at Ottawa, to press the matter as a national enterprise. In spite of the incredulity and actual opposition of influential interests in the cities of eastern Canada, the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier finally agreed to build the road. It was planned to connect with the Canadian Northern (now Canadian National) system at The Pas, in northwestern Manitoba, and from there run almost directly northeastward to a port on Hudson Bay not at first decided upon. The distance would be between 400 and 500 miles, depending upon which port was eventually selected. The country is flat; there are practically no grades; and the cost was not expected to be great. Construction was begun in 1910.

The next year the Laurier administration was defeated on the reciprocity issue, and a new government came into office. It decided to continue construction of the Hudson Bay Railway, and later chose Port Nelson as the terminus. This port is formed by the estuary of the Nelson River, about 424 miles by the surveyed route from The Pas. The cost was estimated at approximately $30,000,000—sixteen millions for the railway and thirteen for harbor developments, the greater part of the latter to be spent in dredging, as each year the river brings down large quantities of silt, which spreads out into immense bars far into the bay.

Three hundred miles of the line had been finished at a cost of $13,000,000, and $7,000,000 had been invested in harbor works, when the World War brought the project to a standstill.

Nothing more was done until 1926, when the present Liberal administration announced its intention of completing the long-neglected road. A little later, Mr. Frederick Palmer, an eminent English engineer, was appointed to weigh the respective merits of Port Nelson and Fort Churchill. Mr. Palmer eventually selected Churchill, and contracts were immediately let for the construction of the final lap of the road to that port, which is 150 miles farther north than Nelson.

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The government sent out three aerial survey parties to Hudson Strait in the summer of 1927 to study the movement of ice and gather other information of value to navigation. This work was carried on throughout the winter of 1927-28. The first ice reported was floe ice seen on November 16, about five miles off Nottingham Island, at the western entrance to the strait. From that date ice gradually increased until, by November 29, 60 percent of the thirty-seven-mile distance southward to the mainland was covered with floe ice. Accordingly, it is assumed that navigation would have closed in 1927 some time between November 16 and the end of the month.

To follow up the work of these advance parties, the government has since established three permanent observation and direction-finding radio and patrol stations on the strait. The principal station is at Cape Hope's Advance, on the south side of the strait about 175 miles west of the Atlantic entrance. Another is on Resolution Island, on the north side of the Atlantic entrance, commanding a view of the Atlantic southward along the coast of Labrador. The third is on Nottingham Island. These are new names to most people who are not geographers, and known to but few geographers, but in this radio age it is more than likely that these new outposts will soon take their places in the public mind as important stations on the highways of the world.

One of the arguments used for years by those who advocated the Hudson Bay Railway was that the territory through which it would run is part of the immense Laurentian Shield, said by geologists to be one of the most highly mineralized regions in the world. These claims seem in a fair way to be confirmed. Eighty-four miles northward from The Pas is the now famous Flin Flon mine, since November, 1927, controlled by the Whitney interests of New York, who have arranged for the building of a branch line to the mine and have contracted for the erection of a smelter, the whole requiring an expenditure of $20,000,000. Forty miles farther is another mine which is expected to become one of the greatest copper mines in the world when developed. Ore bodies of an estimated value of $400,000,000 have already been located.

The hydro-electric possibilities of the Nelson River alone are estimated to be greater than those of Niagara and the Saguenay combined. And nearby regions contain large areas of timber suitable for pulp.

Until recently Manitoba was supposed to be a province with a small area suitable for farming and a huge hinterland tempting only to trappers and mosquitoes. But now many people in Canada who have studied the situation believe that the richest and most important part of the province is that which lies beyond the present zone of settlement. This is true not only in Manitoba, but also in Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Canada is looking northward as never before.

If any evidence of this were needed, it could be found in the recent clash between the two great railways of Canada. The Canadian Pacific, the first to cross the continent, followed the more southerly route. The Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific both chose routes farther north. During the War, the two latter were taken over by the government and are now part of the national system. There is some overlapping, but generally the C. P. R. serves the southern portion of the prairies and the C. N. R. the northern. But quite recently the C. P. R. announced an ambitious construction policy which comprises several strategic lines designed to tap territory that the C. N. R. had looked upon as its own particular domain. Some of these lines, if constructed, together with running rights over the C. N. R. lines, would give the C. P. R. a short-line haul from the rich wheat lands of central Saskatchewan direct to the bay.

It is also significant that if the northern tips of other proposed C. P. R. branches and of lines recently acquired in Alberta were to be linked together by a new line running east and west across Canada, the logical eastern end of such a line would be Fort Churchill.

The time will no doubt come when that line will be built, though how soon will depend upon how rapidly the intervening territory is settled. If there should be another such flow of immigration as there was early in the present century, it would not be long before we should see the new line. Whether such a plan is at present in the minds of the astute men at the head of the C. P. R. only time will tell, but there can be little doubt that they have some such course in view as a not too distant eventuality.

Such a railway would still be south of the geographical center of the Dominion; it would cross a country which in different sections is rich in minerals, oil, natural gas, coal, asphaltum, timber, grazing and arable land, and hydro-electric possibilities. But, probably most important of all, it would provide the shortest route between Europe and the Orient. From Liverpool to Yokohama, by way of Montreal and Vancouver, the distance is 11,100 miles; by way of Churchill and a port on the Pacific, such as Stewart, on the Portland Canal, the distance would be only 8,600 miles. In these days of rapid communication, 2,500 miles are an item worth considering.

As long as Canada's eastern outlet is by way of the St. Lawrence in summer, and St. John and Halifax in winter, she is doomed to remain a long, attenuated strip bordering the northern edge of the United States. Only recently have Canadians come to realize that their country is the only one in the world that is bounded by three oceans; and that the Arctic, so far as Hudson Bay is concerned, is hardly less available than the Atlantic or the Pacific.

D. M. LeBourdais.

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Henry Ford's Want Ad

ON January 1, 1929, newspapers throughout the country carried Henry Ford's announcement that he would add 30,000 employees to his working force in order to operate his plants on a six-day schedule, while maintaining the five-day week for each worker. The announcement stated that citizens of Detroit would be given preference, and warned people from a distance against coming to the city for these jobs.

On the morning of January 2, according to a despatch to the New York Times,

> A shivering, jobless army, estimated at 25,000 . . . was herded in a parking space near the employment office . . . [and] about 600 were successful in being assigned jobs at the Ford Motor Company plant.
>
> Automobile licenses indicated that at least scores of job-seekers had defied the Ford edict that citizens of Detroit would have preference over outsiders. There were cars from Illinois, South Carolina, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, New York, Louisiana, and Kentucky.
>
> "We are from other states," were comments from some of them, "but if we are asked about it, we've been in Detroit all our lives. What we want is a job."
>
> The dingy little all-night ten-cent movie houses in Detroit did a rushing business. Men straggled in all through the night, not so much interested in the show, as to keep warm.

We talk about industrial waste. Could anything be more wasteful than this method of supplying our industries with the labor they need? Yet this is the prevailing method; the Detroit incident is only a dramatic example of what is happening every day.

What should we say if the Ford Motor Company secured the steel, or copper, or other materials it uses, in the manner that it gets its labor? Suppose it advertised throughout the country for 30,000 tons of copper, and thousands of dealers parked truck-loads of the material near the purchasing agent's office every morning, out of which a small portion would be taken, while the owners of the rest were told to cart their stuff away? Could anything be more ridiculous? But isn't this about what our industries do with labor every day?

And suppose the materials were brought long distances from a half-dozen different states, when ample supplies, of the quality and cost desired, were available in the immediate vicinity? Wouldn't we say that that was inefficient and wasteful management? And what about the moral wastes of this method of recruiting labor, which puts a premium on deceit by holding out to needy unemployed men the possibility of getting work if they will lie about their residence?

Contrast the manner in which the state of Ohio organized the recruiting of 20,000 men to build the cantonment at Chillicothe during the War with the methods ordinarily used, as illustrated in the Ford example, and you see how unnecessary, if not immoral, these wasteful and inefficient methods are. The state had established local free employment offices in twenty-one cities, with the coöperation and financial aid of the municipalities. These, by the way, have since been allowed to dwindle to eleven offices, insufficiently manned and financed. The procedure and policies of the twenty-one offices were unified under a centralized, directing management located in Columbus. Instead of announcing to the world that 20,000 men would be needed to build the cantonment, and picking a few hundred every morning from the thousands that would have flocked to the city, the officials in charge of construction notified the central office from time to time—sometimes every day, sometimes once a week—of the various kinds and grades of labor they needed and the number of each. The state director immediately wired or telephoned to the local employment bureaus, whose daily reports to him showed that they had registered men of the kind wanted, and ordered each office to send to Chillicothe a specified number of workers of each kind.

A steady stream of selected workers was thus kept moving to Chillicothe from local offices in every part of the state, and each man who went had a definite prospect of getting a job. While the construction contractors did not obligate themselves to hire everyone who was sent by the employment bureaus, very few were rejected, because all were carefully selected before they were started on their journey. Men from the offices nearest to Chillicothe were sent first, and when these could not supply all the needs, the cities farther away were called upon. Only occasionally were workers from outside the state recruited for the work; and when this was necessary, arrangements were made, wherever possible, with public employment bureaus in near-by states to interview and select men, and send them in response to written orders for specified kinds of workers. In this way the wild scramble for work, the disappointed hopes, and the waste of time and money in useless transportation and waiting, were avoided. The available jobs were filled in an organized and orderly manner, instead of making them the occasion for a grand gamble, as is usually done.

In Michigan, at present, there are eleven public employment offices, and about 180 others are scattered over forty-one states and the District of Columbia. Why did not the Ford Motor Company attempt to use these agencies in getting its 30,000

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men? No doubt, the answer is that the existing employment bureaus are ineffective. They are inadequately financed and understaffed. But the reason they are so handicapped is that business and industry show little interest in them. They cannot be made to function properly while only the unemployed, social workers, and government officials are interested in them. Not until the large industries make use of these public employment exchanges can the economical and scientific methods of recruiting labor, which they make possible, be achieved.

Public employment bureaus cannot, of course, create work where none exists. But it has been amply demonstrated, both in this country and in Europe, that they can keep more people at work than is possible when labor is recruited in the traditionally haphazard manner.

There is now before Congress a bill introduced by Senator Wagner of New York (S. 4157), providing for the establishment of a Bureau of Employment in the Department of Labor, whose primary duty would be to lead and aid the states in improving and extending the work of the existing public bureaus, and to weld them all into a unified and efficient national employment service. This bill embodies the recommendation of President Harding's Conference on Unemployment, of which Mr. Hoover was chairman. The Conference reported:

> A permanent system of employment offices for bringing workers and jobs together with the quickest dispatch is necessary, both in times of depression and prosperity.
>
> The existing provision of the federal government and many state governments for all branches of such work is inadequate, and should be strengthened. The work is of first-rate importance, and should be recognized as a job for men of first-grade ability from the top down. The director should be appointed directly by the President. Adequate salaries should be provided and adequate safeguards to secure the proper personnel and to protect the tenure of office.
>
> An adequate permanent system of employment offices as above suggested would obviate the necessity of creating new offices whenever new emergencies arise. It would also prevent the public employment office from being regarded as a mere temporary, philanthropic device, and thus through misunderstanding from not being used generally.

The bill provides an appropriation of $4,000,000, of which not less than $3,000,000 is to be apportioned among the states to aid them in organizing and operating public employment bureaus. One condition on which this money is to be granted is that each state shall appropriate a sum equal to the amount it receives from the federal government. This would provide adequate finances for a national employment system. Another condition is that employment bureaus of each state shall be conducted in accordance with standards of efficiency and rules and regulations prescribed by the Director of the National Bureau of Employment, who is to be appointed by the President. Thus, the bases of an effective national employment service are as much assured as they ever can be by legislation.

The rest is a matter of administration. With the Director appointed by the President, and Mr. Hoover's well known interest in unemployment and waste elimination, we can be assured of competent direction of such a national service. Much of the success of the program of a prosperity reserve of public work for periods of unemployment, which was recently presented to the meeting of state Governors in New Orleans at Mr. Hoover's request, is likely to depend on a proper organization for the distribution and placement of the unemployed labor of the country.

Government services generally can be made efficient when they are performed in the open under the scrutiny of the public, and when there is sufficient interest and watchfulness on the part of the public to see that the work is properly and efficiently done. With the President and the Governors thus interested and watchful, in addition to the social workers and laboring people who have long been the warm advocates of public employment bureaus, all that is needed now is the interest and coöperation of the business community.

WILLIAM M. LEISERSON.

Windy Way

The wind comes fast at heels with time
And bends the yellow tops of hay,
And somewhere in the running wind
I cast a thing I had away.
It was my life or so I said,
And I did well, forsaking it,
To go as quickly as the dead.
For more than every traveler wise
They're off before their dawdling kin
Can drop the pennies on their eyes,
Knowing it would be vain to tell,
Who have so vast a leave in mind,
If all night long a fare-you-well.

I did not give a backward look,
Yet could remember if I would,
The lost was twenty jewels' worth,
And dearer to my heart than blood.
And "Leave me here" its mourner cried,
And in God's truth I think I did,
Because I have so free a side.
And past the hollow ribs a bird
By chance came in and ever since
And light as grass his voice is heard.
The cage is open, he may go,
For since winged love has languished there,
I'll treat no other winged thing so.

LÉONIE ADAMS.

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Washington Notes

THIS PIECE may as well be written on the assumption that the new administration has begun, with the hand of Herbert really on the helm. It would be easier writing, of course, if visibility as to the personnel of the Cabinet were a little clearer at this time. Strange as it may seem, the absence of facts is somewhat cramping to the style. However, a sufficient number of things are known about the new President to make clear the character of his start, which, it is generally agreed, will be much less auspicious than that of his little predecessor, who will soon go back to Northampton. To begin with, Mr. Hoover will go into the White House with more people harboring unfriendly feelings toward him than any President we have had in a long time. This is not his fault. It is the inevitable result of the strenuous steps he found necessary to gain the presidency, and the wide differences between him and the most recent incumbent. By the simple expedient of not moving at all, Mr. Coolidge was enabled to avoid stepping on anybody's toes, either as a candidate or as an executive.

Compelled by his nature and the circumstances to act, Mr. Hoover comes into office with a fine assortment of freshly-made enemies, some of whom are successfully concealing their feelings, while others more or less openly voice them around Washington, apparently deriving satisfaction by pointing out incidents of early "ingratitude" and predicting failures and misfortunes of various sorts. A fair proportion of these animosities constitute the hangover from an exceedingly bitter primary and general election campaign, in which prejudices and passions of an unprecedented character were aroused, which have by no means abated. But more than a few of them are the result of three months' uncertainty about his cabinet selections, coupled with the necessity of early action on a variety of prickly problems foisted upon him by the inertia of the previous administration. Altogether, about as mean a combination confronts Mr. Hoover as could well be imagined. No President I can recall has had a less agreeable set-up.

Just consider it for a moment. There is, first, the before-mentioned bitterness and bad feeling of the campaign, which is pretty sure to last through the first part of his administration, and may increase instead of diminishing. There is, next, the necessity of sweeping out the Coolidge cabinet incompetents without, in replacing them, being able to avoid disappointing and offending a score of men, who felt themselves entitled to cabinet consideration—and their friends. There is, then, the necessity of an immediate extra session, which is a bad start for any administration. No President wants it, since it interferes with the stabilizing of his new administrative machinery, prevents his getting comfortably settled before the fighting begins, and leaves little time for the preparation of a "constructive program."

There is, in addition, the unavoidable necessity for attempting a solution of the two most difficult national questions that have arisen in the last ten years, action upon which was side-stepped time and again by Mr. Coolidge—to wit, prohibition and farm relief. Mr. Coolidge never had anything beyond a negative policy on the latter; on the former he simply allowed things to drift. Hoover has to do something concrete, definite and constructive about both, or lose in prestige. The hard part about this, of course, is that no matter what he does or how he does it, practically no one will be satisfied. The report is that Mr. Hoover is impatient and irritated on this prohibition business, that the importunities of the drys have annoyed him, that the conditions appall him. No wonder. He is committed to real enforcement and there can be no real enforcement, as well he knows. What then? He has to do something, and there is nothing that can be done—nothing, that is, not made absolutely impossible by the dry forces, who will tolerate no change in the law except to make it more drastic. On this problem he cannot see his way to the degree he can on farm relief. He knows the fact-finding commission will be of no actual help, because the facts are pretty well known now, and the solution will not follow their restatement. Nor will it render them any more acceptable to the dry leaders, who are far stronger in the new Congress than in the old. The recent Senate vote of sixty-five to eighteen on the Jones Bill shows their strength in the old one.

It is not surprising that the new President is irritated over this situation and annoyed by dry pressure. Now, add to all these things a practically empty Treasury—a not very sweet tribute to the economy of Coolidge and the financial wizardry of Mellon—and then add the non-sympathetic and non-coöperative attitude of the "corps of correspondents" (so markedly different from that exhibited toward the good Calvin), and something of the troubles of the new administration may be grasped. There are two other things which can hardly be called helpful to a new President. One is the unfortunate whirl of the senatorial seniority wheel which forces Jim Watson of Indiana on him as administration leader in the Senate. The other is the possession of a reputation for extraordinary efficiency and achievement, so extravagantly exaggerated in the campaign that he cannot live up to it now.

As for the attitude of the "newspaper boys," I have, I think, previously mentioned its hostile nature in this place. His stay in Miami did not lessen this to any extent, and there is more mumbling and grumbling among them now than before. There is not space here to go into the reasons for this, but I do think an improvement in his press relations is one of Hoover's real problems. It ought not to be, but it is, and I am told the situation gives the new President considerable concern. He has had experience enough to know what it means. It will be interesting to see how his first White House press conferences work out.

The basic cause for the unsatisfactory nature of the Hoover press conferences as compared to those of the Coolidge regime goes back, I think, to the difference between Hoover and Coolidge. For six years the correspondents have been dealing with a man who had nothing much in his head that was not obvious. It was, therefore, easy, safe and satisfactory to write a story about the presidential attitude or intentions, so long as the story always put the President in a favorable light. That made reporting simple. The reason this can't be done with Mr. Hoover is that there is much more in his head than the

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obvious. In the absence of light from him, speculative stories, even when written in eulogistic style, are not safe. The result of this, of course, is lack of news for the correspondents, difficulty in making a showing and lack of opportunity for the "by-line" boys to make the first page. If I were one of Mr. Hoover's advisers, I should suggest to him that he "loosen up" a little more. He can do this, if he will try, without actually revealing anything he does not want to reveal. He can, at least, pretend to be communicative. Most of them will not know the difference.

T. R. B.

Washington.

Some Amateur Movies

THERE ARE one or two signs, not yet definite enough to be taken seriously, that the talking movie will not conquer the movie field without a struggle. As the talking movie is at present a purely commercial production, these signs have to come from the business end; those I have noticed are all in a single field: two producers, at least, are holding on to foreign stars (who speak no English) and intend to keep them occupied in silent films. It is true that, in the past, the movie business men have guessed wrong rather consistently and have been saved from bankruptcy by a series of happy accidents and by technical developments; the technicians guess right. But it is interesting to note a guess on the other side of the talkie business.

If the talkie sweeps all before it, however, the silent movie will naturally develop in those directions closed to the talkie; that is, it will concentrate on more subtle uses of the camera; and if all the professional money goes into sound, the semi-professional and the amateur, with little money to spend, will carry on and exploit the purely cinematic qualities of the movie. The commercial manufacturers are putting up million-dollar studios for taking sound pictures, and the mechanism is extremely costly and delicate; for a long time the amateur's hands will not touch these things.

That is why a few recent events in the amateur field are particularly important. Best known is the production (at a cost of ninety-seven dollars) of a short film called variously "The Life and Death of 9413," "The Suicide of a Hollywood Extra," and various combinations of the words in these two titles. It was the work of Robert Florey, one-time assistant to King Vidor and other directors, who turned amateur, made this and two similar films, and in addition to being named a director for Famous-Players has won the most discriminating applause. A film I discussed in these pages when it was produced, "The Last Moment," by Dr. Paul Fejos, also lay outside the professional field and, although it seemed to me a silly and ineffective pastiche of all the superficial mannerisms of all the art-films of America and Germany, it achieved a similar success for its director. Finally, J. S. Watson, Jr., and Melville Webber have produced "The Fall of the House of Usher." According to the magazine Movie Makers, the January issue of which should be read by all interested in the subject, Mr. Wilton Barrett, secretary of the National Board of Review, has said that this picture represents "the greatest advance made in the progress of the motion picture as an independent art since that epochal film, 'The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari.'" To these I add a film not yet publicly shown, the highly experimental work of Ralph Steiner, whose still photographs of gas tanks and skyscrapers and bridges have marked him as an artist of the first order in his field.

Florey's film, which I have not seen, was made out of paper cubes, moving and reflected lights, an Erector Set (used by children to make mechanical toys) and cut-out figures. Something of its quality is suggested by the description of a single scene (by Herman C. Weinberg, in the magazine noted):

> The hysteria and excitement centering around an opening night performance . . . was quickly shown by photographing a skyscraper with an extremely mobile camera, swinging it up and down and from side to side, past a battery of hissing arc lights, over the theater façade and down to the arriving motor vehicles. To portray the mental anguish of the extra, Florey cut grotesque strips of paper into the shape of gnarled, malignant-looking trees, silhouetted them against a background made up of moving shadows and set them in motion with an electric fan.

Dr. Watson, who calls this film a masterpiece, indicates another point of interest: "the whole picture was cut in rapid staccato." There could be no wastage, for the entire story was told in a single reel.

The significance of "The Fall of the House of Usher" lies in the abandonment of the story in favor of the creation of a cinematic counterpart growing out of and giving rise to the same emotions. The narrative in the story, as I remember it, is not exactly what a modern reader of mystery stories calls a complex plot; the essential is an enveloping mist through which singular shadows move; and the problem of the director was to recreate this atmosphere and make us feel whatever was grotesque, strange, fearful and morbid in Poe's work. Dr. Watson's technique is, at times, supremely successful. I recall that, after a banal opening with the printed page of the book, the first scene represents a horseman descending to a plain; white puffs of smoke obscure the figure; it turns a corner and is gone. The entire atmosphere of the romantic tale beginning "On a cold afternoon in the month of October in 184— a traveler might have been seen"—is caught; mystery and unreality are at once created as the tone of the picture. At the other end—the collapse of the house—the effect adds grandeur to terror: the essential element is a series of stairs which meet and move downward and downward of their own motion. From near the beginning to the very end, the motif of the coffin is used.

The settings are all imaginative; characters seem to walk through endless halls or to meet at the tips of slender pyramids. It is here that Dr. Watson had to meet his nicest difficulty: the intrusion of commonplace elements: a glass of champagne, a tray, a hat and, more difficult than these to handle, the human body. It does not seem to me that his answer is satisfactory. There is a special kind of terror which is intensified by contrast with the commonplace; the supernatural assumes the natural. But unless the entire work is kept in a style and at a specific voltage

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of emotion, the glass and the hat will destroy, and not enhance, the illusion. In a scene that was purely sinister: a dinner served by hands in glistening black rubber gloves pertaining to no visible servitors, the cover of a tray was removed before the eyes of one of the diners, who made a movement of terror and repulsion. The object on the tray was a symbol of death. But the solid, acceptable tray and the every-day movement suggested fastidiousness before repulsive food, and not spiritual terror. And the three characters moved in and out of the tone of the picture; one of them was unfortunately permitted a make-up suggesting Werner Krauss in "Caligari," but the perfection of stylized gesture and gait in that picture was missing. In a picture which used the camera to distort reality and to recreate it, the human figures remained too realistic.

Dr. Watson calls the pace of his own picture sluggish; but if you start with doom, you can hardly have a staccato movement. His picture is long because the sense of destiny requires a lapse of time; it is too long only because some scenes do not contribute to his theme. On the other hand, some of them create emotion instantly. As he himself says, the essential is for the director to have control over his pictures, and where his control has been perfect —which, in his case, is chiefly in dealing with the inanimate or with the animate entirely subordinated—the results are breath-taking.

Mr. Steiner's first experiments with the cinema were overly influenced by his expertness as a still photographer. He took, for instance, hundreds of feet of film, developed them, and did not run them off, convinced by his own knowledge of negatives and plates that they were good pictures. So they were; but, as he learned, they were not good moving pictures, and Steiner had the intelligence and the courage to put from his mind everything he knew of one type of photography in order to learn a new medium. His first reels resembled the French type of experiment—largely the juxtaposition (in time, not in space) of stills —as carried out by Léger, Dudley Murphy (at the beginning), and Man Ray. Of Steiner's later work I have seen only a film which was to be called "H_2O," or possibly "Water." Its subject is water in all its ways of movement, rain and waves and waterfall and coursing river. It is, inevitably, an exploitation of cinematic points of view: where and how the camera is used. In the unfinished state in which I saw it, it created beautiful forms, but needed to be edited for the creation of a single beauty. As cinephotography it is a triumph.

The gap between all these films and the professional practice of making movies is immeasurable. The professionals learn from the experimenters and, all things considered, they have learned quite a lot in the past five years; the amateurs can learn everything from the professionals, if they want to, but they are better out of the commercial field, because competition with the professional plant is impossible. The amateurs simplify when they do not discard story-content (Dr. Watson says "the amateur can use [a story] if it helps him think"); they are opposed to naturalism; they tend to use tragic themes; they have no stars; they are over-influenced by "Caligari"—the commercial directors are still under-influenced by the same film —they want to give their complete picture without the aid of any medium except the camera and the projector. It is unreasonable for the amateurs, then, to clamor for public presentation in the great movie cathedrals; they are not producing what the theater-managers think the public wants. On occasion the managers will show Florey and Man Ray; they ought to take a chance on Watson and Steiner. But the way in which the amateur will affect the commercial film must be through the commercial directors. Dudley Murphy has worked in Hollywood; directors as keen as Vidor are eager to look at any amateur's film, to learn from it. And there is always the chance that if a film can be made for a hundred dollars, with a few thousand for gross expenses, Wall Street will have something to say to Cecil de Mille.

GILBERT SELDES.

CORRESPONDENCE

Professor Barnes and Mr. Brasol

SIR: In my review of Mr. Boris Brasol's book, "The Elements of Crime," published in your issue of October 10, 1928, I made certain statements respecting the connection of Mr. Brasol with the Beilis case and with the circulation of "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" within the United States. The information on which I based these assertions came from persons so high in professional position that I unquestioningly accepted it as accurate, and I made my statements in good faith, with no malicious intent with respect to Mr. Brasol, whom I knew personally as the author of a good book on criminology and as a Russian lawyer of experience and repute.

In your issue of January 23, 1929, a letter from Mr. Brasol was published taking exception to said statements. In the same issue there was published a letter of mine, following that of Mr. Brasol, in which was incorporated a portion of a letter from Mr. Arnold D. Margolin and of an editorial of Mr. Herman Bernstein in the Jewish Tribune which, being a confirmation of my original information, appeared to me to justify the position I had taken. Mr. Brasol, however, has pointed out to me that the quotations so published themselves contain numerous errors and misstatements, and he has detailed to me his connection with the matters to which reference was made therein.

It is impossible for me in this country personally to investigate the points raised by Mr. Brasol in his protest against my original charges, but I am fully prepared to accept his statement of the case as true. Therefore, in justice to Mr. Brasol, I wish to withdraw the charges made in the letter of Mr. Margolin and the editorial of Mr. Bernstein. Particularly, do I wish to correct any impression which may have been given to the effect that the investigations of Mr. Brasol relating to the conduct of the Beilis case were undertaken for any improper or unworthy motive or were conducted with any object or purpose other than to ascertain the truth or falsity of charges which had been made with reference to the conduct of the judges and prosecuting officers at that trial. I desire also to add that the charges that Mr. Brasol "whitewashed" the Russian War Commission through the conduct of his investigation of its activities, that he introduced into this country the "Protocols" and was chiefly responsible for their circulation here, and that he had advance knowledge that they were forged, appear to be unfounded in fact.

HARRY E. BARNES.

Northampton, Mass.

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The Sportsmanship Brotherhood

SIR: In your issue of January 9, in an article by Mr. John Dewey, a reference was made to the Sportsmanship Brotherhood. I called to see Mr. Dewey immediately after seeing the article; not finding him in, I wrote the following letter:

> I called on you yesterday to correct a statement appearing in your article in The New Republic of January 9 with reference to the Sportsmanship Brotherhood. The Brotherhood is particularly desirous of having the support of educators and regardless of any antipathy you may feel for Mr. Woll it was a disappointment to us to find that you had so far misinterpreted the aims of our organization as to write: "President of the International Sportsmanship Brotherhood—an organization to coöperate with the 'welfare' departments of large employers." Doubtless insufficient data caused you to reach your mistaken conclusion which I hope will be altered after a study of the data left with your assistant by me.
>
> The Sportsmanship Brotherhood has no concern whatsoever with the welfare or personnel departments of any organization. Its work is to inculcate in youth a spirit of sportsmanship and fair play principally by means of contacts with educators, schools, and athletic organizations.
>
> Idealism is not a sufficiently accepted doctrine to make us unmindful of such criticism as you have leveled, and a correction would serve the double purpose of bringing out the truth and supporting principles which you have previously enunciated.

Mr. Dewey's reply to this was:

> I was sorry to miss you when you called. I am grateful to you for leaving me the material which you did, as well as for writing me.
>
> I may say that it did not occur to me that it was an invidious reflection upon the Brotherhood to connect it with the welfare departments of employers. That work is certainly perfectly legitimate. I shall, however, undertake at once a study of the data which you have left for me.

You will observe that the unfavorable implication to which the Sportsmanship Brotherhood is subjected by Mr. Dewey's article is clearly at variance with what Mr. Dewey says in his letter of reply to our protest. New Republic readers unaware of the correspondence above would necessarily form an erroneous conclusion from the article and it is this impression we wish you to correct in justice to the Sportsmanship Brotherhood.

DANIEL CHASE,
Executive Secretary, the
Sportsmanship Brotherhood.

New York City.

The Senate Progressives

SIR: I wish to deal, in the disadvantaged space of a letter column, with the article by the initialled author of "Washington Notes" in your February 20 issue. Permit me first, however, to commend your frank and enlightening editorial comment on this article. With the exception of a few sentences, its treatment of the progressives in the Senate seems to me unbalanced and extreme, where it is not obviously condescending or grossly unfair—unintentionally, of course. Let me illustrate.

Take the statement of Senator Norris, that in the next Congress there will be less effective opposition to the great financial interests. Senator Norris was careful to give his reasons for making this statement. Your correspondent ignores the reasons given by the Senator and turns his statement from the clear assertion of a fact to be reckoned with into a general "discouraging prediction." Having done this, he summons this "prediction" regarding the next Congress to testify to the "enfeebled state," "the supineness," etc., of the progressives in the present Congress.

"The real trouble," he continues, "with the Senate progressives is that there is not among them a genuinely strong man who combines stability of conviction with a reasonably clear head and first-class political brains." This indictment, he adds, applies to Senator Norris.

He gives half a column to Senator Borah. It is a well done reproduction of a picture already familiar to those who read such journals as The New Republic and The Nation. Surely not one of your readers has for a long time considered Borah a member of the Senate progressive group. The Senator himself does not claim to be. By what semblance of justice or stretch of logic is he here placed where he does not belong, only to show, as all of us know, that he does not belong?

Having settled the status of Norris and Borah, your correspondent dismisses two other Senators, in this single sentence: "It is useless to talk of Hiram Johnson, who is much too bad-tempered, and it is ridiculous to talk of the younger La Follette, who, while a likable enough young man, is *utterly* [italics mine] without the inner fire of his father." I submit that this sentence contains its full share of the defective judgment and unfair implication that characterize sweeping and categorical generalizations. If space permitted I should attempt to show how it also misses the main point in each of these cases.

At least one sentence might well have been spared from the large space devoted to Borah and made to give brief mention of Senators Thomas J. Walsh and Burton K. Wheeler. As to the former, Fall, Denby, Sinclair, Stewart and the bread trust and power trust officials could testify, and as to the latter, Harry Daugherty, the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the copper magnates of Montana and the coal miners of Pennsylvania could witness that they are "genuinely strong men," with "stability of conviction, reasonably clear heads, and first-class political brains." Not even their names are mentioned in your correspondent's article. The only reference to them is found in this plainly self-characterizing sentence:

> *"For the rest,"* (only Norris, Borah, Johnson and La Follette have been named)*"they are mainly small-bore fellows full of little jealousies, with no serious purpose in mind except that of promoting their own personal political fortunes."* (Italics mine.)

This sweeping indictment also covers Blaine, Brookhart, Dill, Frazier, Howell, Nye, Shipstead and the less conspicuous new Senators Black, of Alabama, and Cutting, of New Mexico. To state that, in the main, these men have "no serious purpose in mind except that of promoting their own personal political fortunes" is to do them a grave injustice and to indulge in language so reckless as to approach the libellous. Fortunately, your readers know that this is totally foreign to the spirit of The New Republic, as it is to your correspondent's less extravagant and more discerning moods.

Washington, D. C. RICHARD W. HOGUE.

The Tariff and the Farmer

SIR: I was very much interested in the article, "Can the Tariff Help the Farmer?" in your issue of January 30, and I agree with what is said, in the main. I wish you had discussed this question more from the point of view of the McNary-Haugen Bill. As I understand it, that bill was an attempt to do for the farmer what manufacturers are able to do for themselves. Manufacturers have agents scattered all over the world. When they have surpluses (they take these surpluses out of trade), they ship their excess products to their agents abroad and sell them at whatever the world price may be, many times at a loss. That enables them to keep the price up at home—a price influenced by the tariff to some extent.

The McNary-Haugen Bill proposed to take surplus farm products out of the market at home, ship them to foreign countries and sell them at the world price in order to keep up the home price. It was claimed that if this worked with manufactured articles, it would work with farm products.

As a further proof that the plan was feasible it was pointed out that a few years ago Congress appropriated $2,000,000 to buy corn to ship to the starving people of Germany. That was at a time when we had our greatest surplus in corn, and at a time when the price was at its lowest since the World War. The $2,000,000 did not, by any means, buy up all our surplus corn,

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but immediately after that transaction the price of the corn remaining in the United States increased $42,000,000 in value.

The McNary-Haugen Bill also gave the Board the power to say to the farmer, "Last year you produced 25 percent (or whatever the percentage might be) more wheat (or some other crop) than could be absorbed, and we took care of it for you. Now you will have to cut your production by just that much this year. Otherwise you will have to handle it yourself. We will not do it for you."

The last McNary-Haugen Bill applied to all farm products. I voted for this bill though I am not sure that it would work. I voted against the first one, for I was sure it would not work. Being a farmer and knowing the desperate circumstances in which the farmers find themselves, I was willing to try almost anything. I have always felt, and feel now, that so far as the tariff is concerned, the best way to help the farmer is to reduce the duty on the things he buys. But that can't be done with Congress made up as it is now.

J. W. Beck.

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

The Good-Will Tour

SIR: In your issue of January 16, the writer of the paragraph on the Hoover good-will tour speculated himself into the conclusion that the correspondents on the tour were "muzzled," "with Mr. Hoover's consent if not at his instigation," and on this basis indulged in a gloomy foreboding as to freedom of speech for the next four or eight years. The paragraph admitted that probably no news of any importance was withheld from the public and that any changes or corrections were made in consultation with the correspondent concerned.

The tour was not a domestic but a foreign one, in which the susceptibilities and sentiments of many different nations were affected by every press despatch sent out. The Latin-Americans are a very sensitive people. Our journalistic attitude towards them and our methods of diplomacy in the past have ridden rough-shod over their ways of looking at things. With this fact-base, would it have been too hard on the logic of the writer to have passed on to the conception of the "good-will" purpose of the tour, the desire to offset and neutralize whatever animosities there were against the United States and to build up a better and more friendly relationship with the countries visited?

If your writer could ever get the viewpoint I have indicated in his consideration of the problem, the approval of consultation and correction in press despatches would follow automatically. It would also be clear that international press despatches which are bound to affect the thought of many nations and are at least quasi-official in their authority cannot be put on the same basis as domestic news for domestic consumption only.

The despatches which reported the events of the Hoover good-will tour may have been as "dull" to your writer as he stated them to be. However, the "gee-whiz" emotional news-writing started by the Hearst school of journalism—still very much in vogue even among those who repudiate its parentage—has done this country untold harm in its foreign relations. And perhaps we should be willing to forgo a few "thrills" for the sake of the peace of the world and the economic, political and social good will of our Pan-American neighbors.

Milton Colvin.

New Orleans, La.

[Mr. Colvin's argument is based on several assumptions which we are not prepared to accept. He implies that the newspaper men who accompanied Mr. Hoover were either so unsympathetic to the purpose of his tour that they would deliberately send despatches seeking to destroy its effect, or so stupid that they would do the same thing through inadvertence. These men were the pick of the Washington correspondents of the chief dailies, and of the press associations. In our judgment, they are on the whole just as good Americans as the other members of the party, as keenly concerned for the international esteem in which their country is held, and probably better able, as experts, to judge the results of publishing one report or another. The argument that officials know better than journalists what should and should not be published is the same that is used in Russia, Italy and elsewhere to justify a rigid censorship. We do not believe this theory, and regret that it should make its appearance in the United States. As for the dullness of the despatches, this did not arise from the drabness of the reporting, but from the prosaic characters of the events chronicled.—The Editors.]

Henry James, Sr.

SIR: I am engaged in writing some studies of the life and philosophy of Henry James, Sr., father of Henry the novelist and William the psychologist; and I should appreciate the courtesy of your columns to ask for the help of such of your readers as knew Mr. James, or have letters of his. Correspondence should be addressed to me at Boston University, 27 Garrison Street, Boston.

Boston, Mass. Austin Warren.

Brookwood and the A. F. of L.

SIR: Readers of The New Republic will be interested in the luncheon discussion on "The Present Crisis in American Trade Unionism," Saturday, March 2, at the Town Hall Club, 123 West Forty-third Street.

At this luncheon A. J. Muste, Morris Hillquit, and John Dewey will discuss the Brookwood case, the status of the A. F. of L. and workers' education, the relationship of Matthew Woll and the National Civic Federation, etc.

Benjamin Stolberg,
President, New York Chapter,
League for Industrial Democracy.

New York City.

Seattle—There She Sits

SIR: Mr. Read Bain, in his article, "Seattle—A Harbor without a Hinterland," makes some statements which, to anyone who has ever resided in Seattle, must be taken with a grain of salt.

For example, when he speaks of the Waterfront Employers' Association's method of handling employment, he says: "The result is an almost complete decasualization of longshore work." An obvious absurdity, as anyone who has ever worked on a dock knows. What has been done in Seattle has been done in every port along the Pacific, namely, introduction of an elaborate black-list system whereby men are card-indexed in such a way that their every move is known at the "Fink Halls," so-called by the men who follow longshoring for a living. Let anyone protest against the rotten conditions that prevail on the Seattle waterfront and he would soon find that the mortgaged home which Mr. Bain says a large percentage of the workers own would soon vanish into thin air.

Again he says, "Seattle's tenderloin district is called the 'Skid-road' or, more commonly, 'Below the Line.'" The "Skidroad" has ever been Washington Street and Occidental Avenue. It has never, in all its tempestuous career, been a red-light district, as Mr. Bain would infer. As a gathering place for all the migratory workers who are forced by conditions to make Seattle their head-quarters, it has long been famous.

Again, "On any Saturday night, one may hear 'Derby Dan Kelly,' the Cockney Communist orator, haranguing his cohorts of discontent." Mr. Bain, if he had cared to wander down from the grounds which enclose the Blethern chimes, to walk among the "unwashed" on Washington and Occidental, could have learned that "'Derby Dan Kelly,' the Cockney Communist orator, etc.," was plain George O'Hanrahan, who arrived from County Cork, Ireland, about thirty years ago, and that as an orator he has been a standing joke these many years.

G. N. Anderson.

San Pedro, Calif.

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Can Religion Embrace Nature?

The Interpretation of Religion, by John Baillie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 477 pages. $4.

A WORLD made up of nothing but movements and magnitudes is intolerable. The esthetic and moral and affectional nature of man cannot endure it. When face to face with such a view of nature men will seek some way of escape. Their religion will become the religion of escape from nature, instead of the religion which embraces nature. Mr. Baillie interprets religion as a way of escape, although he does not call it that and probably would not admit it.

There are three ways of escape from nature, and all three have been followed since seventeenth-century science and eighteenth-century machinery presented nature in such dismal and intolerable guise. Science requires that attention be focused on certain magnitudes and movements to the exclusion of everything else. Construction and operation of machinery require the same. Hence the last two centuries, dominated by machinery and science, viewed nature as basically a system of masses and movements revealed by reason and observation, while all the emotions, ideals and concrete fullness of qualities which we seem to experience belong to the realm of mind which somehow stands over against nature as something apart. From nature so conceived men fled down three ways and perhaps the majority of men still seek these ways of escape.

The first of these three ways is through "inner experience." This is the way followed by Mr. Baillie. In the depths of the self, we are told, there is a gateway which opens out into a region of pure beauty and goodness and God. Some say this gate is opened by the postulates of reason (Kant, Ritschle, Baillie); others say it is feeling which opens the door into the land of blessedness (Schleiermacher, the mystics and romanticists); others say it is the will (Fichte, Eucken, and others). But all are agreed that this home and stay of the values of life can never be found by observing nature. In nature there are bulks of every size and motions of every sort, but little else.

The second way of escape is by proud disdain and scientific control. Thomas Huxley, Bertrand Russell, some modern humanists and others, go this way. Mr. Russell is one of the clearest and most eloquent advocates of it. In his serious mood he says: "Brief and powerless is man's life; on him and all his race the slow, sure doom falls pitiless and dark . . . omnipotent matter rolls on its relentless way." In more cheerful mood he says: "Nature is like a louse. We don't reverence it, we catch it—if we can." Through the development of science and use of machines we may by good fortune achieve such range of prediction and power of control as to hold our own for a time and make the accidents of nature serve and magnify the beauty, morality and love which are the values of life. But this we can hope to do only by putting out of our mind all mistaken reverence for nature, and especially all such folly as trying to find through "inner experience" a gateway into some other realm of the universe beyond nature. There is no such other realm. Mr. Baillie, of course, since he has fled down the first avenue of escape, declares that this way followed by Russell and his kind is a tragic error.

The third way of escape from nature is followed by Santayana and the many sophisticated thinkers who have been influenced by him. (Mr. Baillie takes Feuerbach and Freud as examples.) It is the way of free fancy and artistic constructions of imagination. Religion for these sophisticated people is a poem, a lyric of free imagination. It is a dream, but a dream which is sustained and propagated by great institutions, shared by thousands and developed by successive generations. It is a tender and beautiful compensation for the hard, mean, destructive conditions of natural existence.

This way of escape is also a mistake, says Mr. Baillie. The burden of his book is to demonstrate the rightness of Kant and Ritschle, and the wrongness of the others. This is his interpretation of religion set over against other interpretations.

We feel he has done a magnificent piece of work in making this comprehensive survey and analysis of the historic theories of religion. He comes at the end of two hundred years; and because he belongs to an age that is done, he can round it out in systematic form. But he has no glimpse of the new view of nature which is working its way into the hearts and minds of men, a view which is also older than the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whence arose that view of nature which dominates the mind of Mr. Baillie. For this reason we believe he has missed the most important and promising form of religion. He advocates a way of escape from nature and denies all validity to that kind of religion which is not an escape from nature at all but a turning to nature to find in the realm of observable existence a home and cosmic support for the values of life. This, of course, is possible only if nature be something different from what the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries thought it to be and what Mr. Baillie thinks it to be.

Machinery is beginning to fall into somewhat better perspective and to become more a servant and less a master, as the contributors to Charles A. Beard's "Whither Mankind" made plain. Also the presuppositions and working concepts of the exact sciences are not only being recast but, what is even more important, are beginning to reveal themselves to be merely very meager abstractions taken from the rich concrete qualitative fullness of nature. This is the main point Whitehead is making. Dewey constantly declares it. Bergson with his concept of "intuition" and James with his "radical empiricism," each in his own pioneering uncertain way, got early glimpses of it.

Nature, as we here use it, includes the working of the human mind and all its products, the development of culture and the loves of men as well as sticks and stones. A religion which founds itself upon the experience of nature, and subjects its beliefs and projects to the empirical tests of observation, will have an honesty, workability and potency which is impossible in a religion which turns its back on nature and relies upon postulates of faith which can never be empirically tested.

The concrete fullness of things wherein all our most precious values must be sought is closed to the exact sciences, but not closed to those rougher methods of observation and experimentation by which we meet the mute appeal of a friend, find and win the woman we love, educate our children, seek out and perpetuate the beauties of nature. Even the cure of disease and maintenance of good health are too concrete and complex to be the work of an exact science, however much all the sciences may help. But all these goods are sustained and magnified by certain natural processes when we make the required adjustments and connections. In nature thus viewed and understood, religion must seek out by attitudes of personality and clarify by that action that cosmic working which sustains and magnifies our most precious values. Nature cannot be escaped, but it may be embraced. When religiously

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embraced, however, it is with passionate intent to reconstruct all the ways of life and the natural conditions which determine those ways. But nature can be reconstructed only when first embraced; and the very reconstruction is itself the work of something in nature.

HENRY NELSON WIEMAN.

The Frontier: A Hardy Perennial

Bartolomé de las Casas: "Father of the Indians," by Marcel Brion, translated from the French by C. B. Taylor. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 313 pages. $3.

Père Marquette: Priest, Pioneer and Adventurer, by Agnes Repplier. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 298 pages. $3.

Lorenzo Dow: Bearer of the Word, by Charles Coleman Sellers. New York: Minton, Balch and Company. 275 pages. $3.50.

Simon Girty: The White Savage, by Thomas Boyd. New York: Minton, Balch and Company. 252 pages. $3.50.

The Last of the California Rangers, by Jill L. Cossley-Batt. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 299 pages. $2.50.

THE chronological range of these volumes embraces nearly all the history of our continent. Father las Casas labored in Central America in the early sixteenth century, while "the last of the California Rangers" died in 1924. A long stretch of time, and yet each book deals with frontier life. The *milieu* is equally uncivilized in the earliest and the most recent of these chronicles: violence reigns supreme in the Mexico of Cortez and in the California of the Vigilantes, Murieta, and "Judge Lynch." The frontier was as far-flung in time as it was geographically: for four hundred years this continent has kept at bay the forces of civilization. During all that time there existed a "frontier," a region where not even the foundations of a social structure had been laid. The fact that the men of the frontier were generally the products of a civilized state of society makes their actions in their new setting interesting, if not always admirable.

The first two, in time, of these volumes center around Catholic priests. M. Brion's life of Bartolomé de las Casas is the most impersonal of biographies. Its virtues are those of history: proportion, organization, and solid learning. The last sixty pages are devoted to detailed accounts of las Casas' principal writings. The author is interested in his hero historically, that is, not so much for himself, but as a force that moves against other forces; the resulting conflict is the theme of his book. There have been few conquests more destructive to the conquered than that of Mexico and Peru. Pizarro, Robledo, even "stout Cortez" were as wolves among sheep. Lust for gold stripped the *conquistadores* of their humanity, and the lack of resistance on the part of the puny, decadent Indians seems only to have inflamed their destroyers the more. Against this strong tide Father las Casas flung himself persistently, energetically. He made intelligent use of the King and the Church to protect his Indians from their conquerors, but very little came of his efforts. One man cannot check a forest fire. Père Marquette shared las Casas' affection for the Indians and was as deeply beloved in return. His task, however, was much the easier, for his flock needed no protection: the Illinois and the Algonquins were sinewy barbarians, as wolfish as the French invaders. Miss Repplier's biography is smoothly, charmingly written, a little too much so, in fact. Her literary glibness has embalmed Marquette's life in amber, making an ornament out of its reality. As decoration, one must admit, it is charming—even better than "Death Comes for the Archbishop." The author shares with Miss Cather a woman's eye for the picturesque, the "effective." Both are, as it were, composers of mural paintings, in which the heroic figures and the beautiful, terrible natural background are of value only as decoration, never in themselves. The journey down the Mississippi, for instance, intrigues, but does not move the reader. The canoes floating on the mile-wide river toward unknown perils—Miss Repplier's treatment of this goes as far as decoration can go. But the danger never becomes real and vulgar enough to make one think, "Hell, this is a tight place!" And that is the test of such stories.

Lorenzo Dow also consecrated his life to the service of the Lord, but there the resemblance abruptly ceases. Indeed, it is doubtful if he resembled any known product of the Creator. He was *sui generis* with a vigor possible only in the democratic America of his day. In him there are traces of Bunyan and of Lear's fool, not a little Jonathan Edwards, and a great deal of pure Yankee, which last often appears in his sermons with disconcerting effect. "Crazy Dow" was one of the great revivalists of the early nineteenth century; legion were the camp meetings that fell under his spell. The best parts of his biography are the anecdotes, accounts of sermons, and quotations from his works. Which is a way of saying that Lorenzo, as he always referred to himself, was an interesting personality. The mixture of religious fervor and Yankee shrewdness is a piquant one. Although much of his activity took place in regions as remote from the frontier of 1800 as Connecticut, Ireland, and England, it was not there that he achieved greatness. He was in his element only in the crude, newly settled regions of the South and Middle West. In a civilized community he was at best a quaint personality, but to the frontier people of Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee he was a mighty man of God.

Simon Girty, the White Indian, made a name of terror for himself in the border fighting of the Revolutionary War. Throwing in his lot with the Indians and the British, he led the braves in many a murderous raid on outlying Ohio settlements. It was a barbarous warfare, which spared neither woman or child, and in which to be taken prisoner meant death. The pioneers were as savage as the Indians: Colonel Williamson and his men massacred in cold blood ninety-six captive Delawares, men, women, and children. To the Americans, Simon Girty was a human fiend; mothers used him as a bogey man to quiet their children. It was probably his turning Indian that made him so detested, for he certainly showed no more than the customary savagery, and at times appeared in the unfamiliar role of an angel of mercy. Mr. Boyd's life of Girty is a mediocre production.

William James Howard, "the last of the California Rangers," reveals in his reminiscences of the California of the gold rush and after, a state of society resembling that which produced Girty. Violence was the order of the day. Battle, murder, and sudden death arose suddenly, claimed their victims, and subsided as quickly. A classic instance of this is the Coates-Frost feud. The men of the two families met by chance on the road one day. "Quick as a flash the weapons of the two family groups were drawn against each other, and the noise that followed, we are

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told, was 'like the rapid explosions of a string of firecrackers.' . . . It is a remarkable fact that this deadly battle, in which twenty shots were fired, occupied just one-quarter of a minute, and in this short space of time six men were lying dead. From the moment the two families met in full force, only two words were spoken; Albert Coates was heard to exclaim, 'My God!'" There had been no bloodshed before this meeting, and there was none after: the deadly feud was over in a quarter of a minute. This sudden, almost casual appearance of Death on the scene is characteristic of the frontier. Not much can be said for Miss Cossley-Batt's part in this work: it is a crude, almost illiterate, production, studded with gems of speech like "Father Time rolled on. . . ." Structurally, it is a careless jumble. Captain Howard is interesting for himself, however, if not always for what he tells. While he was alive, the long history of our frontier lived also. When he died in 1924, the tale was told. DWIGHT MACDONALD.

Patriotic History

England: A History of British Progress from the Early Ages to the Present Day, by Cyril Robinson. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Company. 892 pages. $5.

THIS HISTORY has much to recommend it. The style is fresh and vigorous. From the first page to the last the book moves, the story unfolds, the scene changes, the drama is alive. Those of us who have labored long and conscientiously over drab and joyless textbooks purporting to be histories of England appreciate this fact the more. Mr. Robinson's "England" is not a work of art in the sense that Trevelyan's "England" is; it is not to be recommended to persons of maturity with any considerable knowledge of English history—they may be annoyed by explanations of the obvious. But for the schoolboy or college freshman, or for those adults who know little of England's past, this book is valuable.

Unfortunately, as an historian Mr. Robinson has several serious faults, not the least of which is a certain overstressing of the patriotic *motif*. Many American writers, and not a few English, are more to blame in this matter than Mr. Robinson. He, at any rate, does not beat blatantly the national drum nor wave the Union Jack. On the other hand, he is as blind as Nelson at Copenhagen to what he does not choose to see. There is but one side to the British occupation of India; the World War was caused entirely by the evil Germans and their allies; the Austrian charge that the Archduke Ferdinand's assassination was caused by a Serbian plot is an "unworthy implication." "The punishment of Germany was terrible, though not more terrible than the crime that brought it on her head." These illustrations will suffice to prove our point.

As long as the textbooks used by our boys and girls devote more space to military and naval events and exploits than they do to the misunderstandings and rivalries which bring them about, we are not going to make much progress toward international reconciliation and world peace. And as long as we continue to talk about the late War in terms of sin—if that word is still permissible—we are not going to get anywhere.

The book has other faults. Mr. Robinson writes, all too frequently, in a slap-dash fashion, using strong language and extravagant colors, to the detriment of truth and justice. For illustration, the author calls James II "a fool." Yet almost everyone familiar with the later seventeenth century knows that in some respects the last of the Stuarts was an able and intelligent man. In addition, many orthodoxies of thirty years ago are solemnly repeated. Henry VIII as a national hero is much too favorably portrayed. The strange ideas of John Addington Symonds in regard to the Renaissance again appear in print. Retold once more is the myth of 1453 and the flight of the Greek scholars from Constantinople. "Greek and Latin," we are assured, "are tremendously alive." One doubts if this is so, even at Winchester.

Errors of fact and of judgment, however, are more easily excused than errors of the spirit. No reasonable man would have the young brought up to sneer at their own past: but love of country does not necessitate the inculcation of superiority. It is a pity that the average book used in our schools, and in the schools of Germany, France and also England, is apt to do this very thing. The historians did their fair share in bringing on the World War. Let them hasten now to reverse their methods and to teach a nationalism based on kindliness and broad equity rather than on pride and militant aggressiveness. Perhaps, some day, the textbooks used in English schools will be, by law, written by foreigners; and in America and elsewhere the same rule might hold. If this were done, the likelihood of future warfare might be lessened.

WALTER PHELPS HALL.

The Primitive and His Ego

The "Soul" of the Primitive, by Lucien Lévy-Bruhl. Authorized Translation by Lilian A. Clare. New York: The Macmillan Company. 351 pages. $5.

THE quotation marks in the title of the English translation of Professor Lévy-Bruhl's latest discussion of primitive mentality are a concession to the bewilderment of the reader. For the book is not, as he might reasonably have supposed, about those absurdly various fantasies that primitive people picture as their souls. Nor is it the specific application in the religious realm of the thesis which Professor Lévy-Bruhl has already defined in two previous volumes.

The "soul" in this volume is the concept of personality, and the discussion is of the different ways in which men have delimited the ego in the midst of the material world, the identifications they have made between the self and external objects. Primitive people, indeed, had no idea where one left off and the other began, and "The 'Soul' of the Primitive" is a large scrap-book illustrating this lack of demarcation, in such various aspects as the "eternal soul," the functions of the clan in marriage and in blood revenge, witchcraft, and, for almost half the bulk of the book, theories and practices centering around death.

This "pre-rational" confusion of the primitive mind has always been Professor Lévy-Bruhl's main preoccupation. The primitive, according to his interpretation, does not delimit his subject-matter, but confuses it with a vast periphery which properly has nothing to do with the matter under consideration. He does not see himself as a separate individual, but as extending off into clan relationships, hair and nail parings, property, and the rest. He sees no contradiction in the fact that his body is tied up in the village, but that his life is at the mercy of an arrow that pierces the leopard, his "bush soul," in the jungle. He knows that his enemy is asleep in his own house, but he believes firmly that he is present in the wax image he lets drip slowly into the fire. Or, after death, since the man and his property are one being, house and horse and cloth-

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ing must suffer the annihilation that has overtaken the living man.

We must be cautious in accepting the author's blanket interpretation of his data. There are many other associations—such as payment to relatives, sacrifice to the dead, providing for the deceased's continued existence in an after life—that have motivated destruction of property at death. And this caution is even more necessary in connection with magic, which is by no means to be interpreted as due to a confusion about the limits of the ego. Professor Lévy-Bruhl has been content to set everything down to one fundamental irrationality. He has not passed on, as modern abnormal psychology and the modern novel have, to ask further: What are the types of irrational association? Can they be particularized? Do the various forms they assume help us toward an understanding of the person or people of whom they are characteristic? For Professor Lévy-Bruhl it is still a matter of note that ideas are illogically related to one another in the human brain; he has room for no other wonder. This naïve point of view is a fundamental defect of his book. Man's irrationalities must be studied scientifically, with that particularized analysis with which abnormal psychology is investigated. Our descendants may wonder why it took us so long to realize this necessity.

RUTH BENEDICT.

"A Son of Earth"

A Son of Earth, by William Ellery Leonard. New York: The Viking Press. 235 pages. $3.

THIS selection of poems from the seven books of poetry written by William Ellery Leonard has a curiously inappropriate title. The evidence supplied by the content of the poems themselves and the personality that has given them form, show a man who is the product of an extraordinarily complex civilization. He is a New Englander (with all the passionate Puritanism that the term implies), a professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, with a reputation in Europe as one of the greatest of modern philologists, and of local notoriety as the author of "Two Lives." He is a fiery academician, ready to fight at the drop of the hat for the cause of humanitarianism or his personal integrity. In reading him you will find some of the worst and some of the best poetry of our time, written with equal vigor. He is afflicted with a "grand manner," yet there are moments, when he is fully articulate, when his ego coincides with the great impersonal "I" of Walt Whitman. And that is not all. He has written some of the finest, surely most sensitive, translations of Latin and Greek into English poetry.

To show a side of Professor Leonard unfamiliar to the readers of "Two Lives" it would be well to quote his perfect translation of Sappho's famous love song:

> Voice within me stumbles, tongue is broken,
> Tingles all my flesh with subtle fire,
> Ring my ears with waterfalls and thunders,
> Eyes are in midnight,
>
> And a sweat bedews me like a shower,
> Tremor hunts my body down and seizes,
> Till as one about to die, I linger
> Paler than grass is . . .

As an interpreter of a civilization other than our own, Professor Leonard belongs in the company of Ezra Pound, H. D., and Wallace Gould.

HORACE GREGORY.

A Plea for Social Awareness

Our Slumbering World: A Plea for the Awakened Mind, by Edmund Noble. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 301 pages. $2.50.

THE author's earlier book, "Purposive Evolution," raised hopes that this outgrowth of it does not fulfill. Part of the disappointment arises from the complexity of the social order, which is here passed in review; for it is difficult to parade a technique for the specific improvement of things in general. Either the technique is not sufficiently elaborated, or its application is not sufficiently passed around. Both defects characterize this book.

Mr. Noble's conception of purpose, by which the universe is made to appear a system without being animistic or even idealistic, eventuates through evolution as mind. Since everything is, as he puts it, system-sourced, rather than self-sourced, the work of mind is to discover the system, and the obligation of mind is to acknowledge the system to its farthest reaches. Mind is dormant when it does not see the relations between things. The enemy of intelligence is "absolutism"—the taking of things as standing alone. This is the common-sense way of taking life and the world—hence "Our Slumbering World." Mind could be aware of presuppositions—could be cultured—and it could be aware of implications—could be scientific. Not merely could it be, but it should be; and so the subtitle, "A Plea for the Awakened Mind."

A plea may take at least two forms. It may present the stupidity, the pity, the tragedy of what is less than the best, in the hope that some instinctive upward propensity will guess its way to amelioration. This is basically what Mr. Noble has here done. He parades the shortcomings of human nature: its dumbness, its egoism, its provincialism, its wastefulness, its destructiveness. Here are, with particular reference to America, abundant statistics on the machine age, the results of standardization, the waste from poor health, from industrial inefficiency, from war, the ravages of poverty, the weakness of "normalcy," the drain of pessimism. Mr. Noble believes, nevertheless, that human nature is good and its present state capable of indefinite improvement; he recommends confidence in its improvability as a propædeutic to progress; and with a wealth of allusions, a well documented social intelligence, and an urbanity that everywhere glints forth, he would set a foreground of optimism for the large background of pessimistic facts. He is everywhere in the best liberal tradition—illustrating the defects as well as the virtues of liberalism.

Chief among its defects that he illustrates is lack of a methodology to realize its faith. Disappointment could not justly grow from the failure of a single volume to cure all the wrongs that it discloses; but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the limitation here is other than that of space. The fertility of idea for metaphysical discovery hitherto associated with the author's name is certainly much less, if not almost lacking, in the face of social data here surveyed. How does sub-intelligent purpose that produces a cosmos and mind operate as intelligence in improving social relations? The plea of this volume is not merely for an awakened mind in the sense of seeing before and after the event, but for a mind that through seeing will improve the innumerable things seen amiss. A plea for social improvement, in the face of such odds as nearly all this volume is given to disclosing, is evangelistic unless it proposes or promises a method of reconstruction. Such

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a method is absent from this volume in fact and in promise. In the senses suggested above for these terms, the book is cultural, whereas it raises hope of being scientific. It does not seem to imply an idealistic logic, identifying the product of mind with what is to be rectified; it does not seem to imply a realistic logic, structurally separating ideas from things; nor does it accept and exploit a pragmatic logic, functionally identifying the ideal and the real through the act of reconstructing the latter by the instrumentality of the former. Mind is not magic; it is not mere dissatisfaction with facts; it is not mere vision of satisfying ends; it is also, and distinctively, effective technique for making better the bad conditions so effectively described in this book. Really to "awaken" mind from its "slumber" is to provide at least in some small measure that technique.

Less enlightened books than this from less liberal authors might be praised. If one regarded this book absolutely, "self-sourced," he might recommend it highly. But the book eliminates this avenue of charity. The moral that would harmonize best my great appreciation of this author and my sense of fairness to my readers is: read Mr. Noble's book, "Purposive Evolution."

T. V. SMITH.

Proletarian Literature

120 Million, by Michael Gold. New York: International Publishers. $1.50.

THIS BOOK contains some of the best and some of the worst possible work of what seems to me, potentially at the least, to be a major talent. For the volume Michael Gold has collected a group of stories and sketches written over a period of more than seven years and representing the two distinct tendencies that are increasingly evident in his writing. All of the pieces show a deep and conscious preoccupation with the American working class and the proletarian revolutionary movement; but whereas some spring from his own full, accurate, passionate perception and just intuition, others are tailored to meet a pattern of "proletarian literature" and propaganda. In the first group is the story of "Coal Breaker," in which a ten-year-old boy, celebrating his first pay-day in the coal mine, begins his break from home and his entry into manhood by standing drink with other miners in a saloon. Or "God Is Love," in which, with pity and terrible bitterness, is depicted the break-down of two old men who have outlived their industrial usefulness and are allowed to disintegrate on the poverty-stricken edge of society. These stories, especially the latter, but others as well—"Bound to Get Home," "The Damned Agitator," "Free"—are equal to the best of Stephen Crane, of whom, in simplicity and power, they are reminiscent. But the mass recitations, "Strike" and "Vanzetti in the Death House," and the sketch, "A Great Deed Was Needed," are ineffective. It is not merely that they sacrifice artistic excellence for propaganda: if they did that successfully, they would be justified. But they have not the veracity and conviction that makes good propaganda. They are distant and unreal: unmoving. And they depend, not on first-hand observation of the peculiarly American worker, but on a concept of universal poverty and universal class consciousness that is European. These failures, however, do not have the power of destroying the excellence of the other pieces, nor the value and interest of the book as a whole. "120 Million," if it does nothing else, should serve

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as an introduction to that fine and powerful work of Gold's which has as yet appeared only in the pages of the New Masses, but which should soon be made available in book form.

MELVIN P. LEVY.

The Peep Show, by Alice Dudeney. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

THE death of two aged and oppressive aunts frees Penelope Wilson, at forty, from a numbing existence at Brighton, and her strange possession of "ageless beauty," as well as a considerable inheritance, permits her to undertake the quest of a romance frustrated in her youth. She finds, not that, to be sure, but a stranger happiness, and from this point on, her story—vague and oddly directed from the start—grows "curiouser and curiouser." A suggestion of delusion that drifts through the opening pages spreads its creeping chill across the lovers' bliss and blots it out at last in swirling phantasmagoria. There are momentary clear glimpses of events—whether "real" in Penelope's past life or not the reader never knows—and then they are distorted or obliterated in the timeless flow of the nightmare. This is romance with "a touch of crackpate" warranted to make the reader's head swim and his flesh creep.

D. B. W.

Contributors

STUART CHASE is well known to readers of The New Republic as author of "The Tragedy of Waste" and (with F. J. Schlink) of "Your Money's Worth." The series of articles of which this is the first is a condensed version of some of the chapters of his forthcoming book, to be published by the Macmillan Company, New York.

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MELVIN P. LEVY is the author of two novels, "Matrix" and "Wedding."

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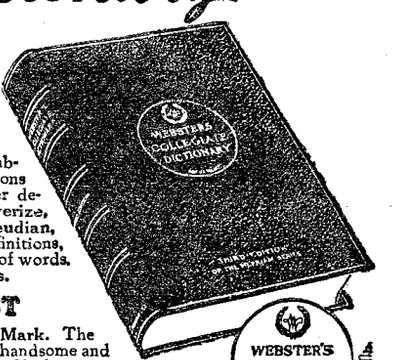

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Thursday, March 14—**Henry J. Fry:** "The Behavior of Chromosomes during the Formation of Eggs and Sperms, and in Fertilization."

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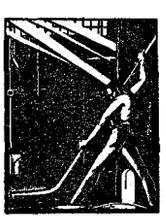

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A visitor to Amsterdam, the Rev. Mr. Burnaby, preserved, for the edification of posterity, one of these traditions in his journal. "Just before you enter the town," he wrote, "there is a little bridge commonly known as the 'Kissing Bridge,' where it is customary, before passing beyond, to salute the lady who is your companion. "Curious," observed Mr. Burnaby, "yet not displeasing."

Today, some distance down the erstwhile Love Lane, between the 9th Avenue L and the I. M. M. wharves, wanderers from the highways discover at 419 West 21st Street THE NEW REPUBLIC BOOKSTORE, and a selection of new books and wood engravings by modern artists. This too, visitors have suggested, pausing momentarily in fighting the battle of life with taxi drivers on the avenues, is curious—yet not displeasing.

(Guide to Chelsea, No. 2)

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